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A  
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY  
OF  
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

EDITED BY  
ROBERT CHAMBERS,  
ONE OF THE EDITORS OF "CHAMBERS'S EDINBURGH JOURNAL."

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

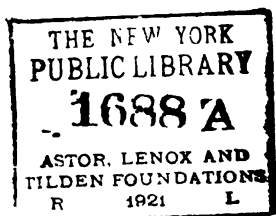
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DIVISION II.  
BROWN—DALRYMPLE.

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ROBERT HAMILTON, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF 'AN INQUIRY ON THE NATIONAL DEBT' &c.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. M. BELL, 1788.



In London, to which he immediately proceeded, he met with a friendly reception from lord Auckland, to whom he had become known during his lordship's residence as ambassador at the Hague, and who now exerted himself so warmly in his favour, that he was, in the course of a few months, appointed to succeed Dr Campbell, as professor of divinity in the Marischal college, Aberdeen; to which honourable appointment was soon after added, that of principal of the same college.

We are informed by the writer of the life of Dr Brown, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that "this new professorship imposed upon him a very serious task, that of composing a course of theological lectures, extending over five sessions. After a review of the different systems of religion which lay claim to a divine origin, he discussed most amply the evidences and doctrines of natural religion. He then proceeded to the evidences of revealed religion, of which he gave a very full and learned view. The Christian scheme formed the next subject of an inquiry, in which the peculiar doctrines of Christianity were very extensively unfolded. Christian ethics were also explained; and it formed part of his original plan, to treat of all the great controversies that have agitated the religious world. This portion of the course was not, however, completed." Besides attending to the duties of his chair, and of his principality, Dr Brown officiated as one of the ministers of the West church in Aberdeen. A volume of his sermons appeared in 1803. He also occasionally attended the General Assembly, where his manly eloquence and impressive mode of speaking, caused him to be listened to with great respect, though he never arrived at the character of a leader. While discharging every public duty with zeal and efficacy, he did not neglect his favourite pursuits of literature. In 1809, he published "*Philemon, or the Progress of Virtue*, a poem," Edinburgh, 3 vols. octavo; and in 1816, appeared his greatest literary effort, "*An Essay on the Existence of a Supreme Creator*," Aberdeen, 2 vols. octavo. The latter was the successful competing essay, among fifty, for Burnet's first prize of £1250; the second, of £400, being awarded to Dr Sumner, afterwards bishop of Chester. Dr Brown also wrote a few pamphlets upon passing occurrences, political and otherwise; and one or two articles in Latin, relating to formalities in the university over which he presided. His last considerable work was "*A Comparative View of Christianity, and of the other Forms of Religion which have existed, and still exist in the World, particularly with regard to their Moral Tendency*," Edinburgh, 2 vols. octavo, 1826.

In addition to the preferments already mentioned, Dr Brown was honoured, in 1800, with the appointment of chaplain in ordinary to the king; and, in 1804, was nominated dean of the Chapel-royal, and of the order of the Thistle. He was, last of all, in 1825, appointed to read the Gordon course of lectures on practical religion, in the Marischal college. Though thus bearing such a multiplicity of offices, Dr Brown was, upon principle, opposed to pluralities, and was, perhaps, only tempted to transgress the rule in his own case, by the want of adequate endowments for his two chief offices, those of divinity professor and of principal.

Dr Brown died, May 11, 1830, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Besides his great talents and acquirements, he was characterized by many excellent personal qualities. His mind was altogether of a manly cast; and, though honoured with the regards of a court, he was incapable of cowering to mere rank and station. With some warmth of temper, he was open, sincere, and generous, and entertained sentiments of unbounded liberality towards his fellow creatures, of all ranks, and of all countries.

BROWN, THOMAS, a distinguished modern philosophical writer, the son of the Rev. Samuel Brown, minister of the parish of Kirkmabreck in the stewarty of Kirkcudbright, was born at the manse of that parish, January 9, 1778. Deprived of his father when between one and two years old, Thomas Brown was conveyed to Edinburgh, where for some years he lived under the charge of his widowed mother. By her he was taught the elements of learning at a singularly early age, acquiring the whole alphabet, it is said, by one effort, or, to use other words, in one lesson, and every thing else with the same amazing facility. When between four and five years of age, he was able to read the scriptures, and also, it would appear, partly to understand them; one day, at that period of his life, he was found sitting on the floor of his mother's parlour, with a large family bible on his knee, which he was dividing into different parts with his hand; being asked jocularly if he intended to preach, and was now choosing a text, he said, "No, I am only wishing to see what the evangelists differ in; for they do not all give the same account of Christ." From the kindly tutelage of his mother he was removed in the seventh year of his age, and placed by his maternal uncle, Captain Smith, in a school at Camberwell, from which in a short time he was transferred to one at Chiswick, where he continued for some years. In these and two other academies he spent the years between seven and fourteen, and acquired a perfect classical education. In 1792, he returned to the maternal roof at Edinburgh, and commenced a course of attendance at the University. At this period of his life he was deeply read in the English belles lettres, and had even collected a considerable library, which, however, was lost at sea in its passage from England to Scotland. Having gone to Liverpool to spend the vacation of 1793 with some friends, he became, boy as he was, the intimate friend of Dr Currie, the amiable biographer of Burns, who is believed to have been the first cause of his directing his mind to metaphysical studies by placing in his hands the first volumes of Professor Dugald Stewart's "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," then just published. The impressions he received from this work were deepened next winter, when he attended its author's prelections in the moral philosophy class at Edinburgh college. Yet, much as he admired Professor Stewart, he did not fail, even at the early age of sixteen, to detect that deficiency of analysis, which often lurks under the majestically flowing veil of his language and imagery. According to the late Dr. Welsh, whose very pleasing memoir of Dr Brown is here followed, the scholar took an early opportunity of presenting to his master a few remarks which he had thrown together in reference to one of his theories. "Those who remember the dignified demeanour of Mr Stewart in his class, which was calculated to convey the idea of one of those great and gifted men who were seen among the groves of the Academy, will duly appreciate the boldness of our young philosopher. With great modesty he read his observations; to which Mr Stewart, with a candour that was to be expected from a philosopher, but which not the less on that account did him infinite honour, listened patiently, and then, with a smile of wonder and admiration, read to him a letter which he had received from the distinguished M. Prevost of Geneva, containing the same argument which Dr Brown had stated." This delightful incident was the commencement of an acquaintance between the master and the pupil, which led to more intimate relations, and only ended with the death of Dr Brown. The varied and profound acquirements of this extraordinary young man, soon attracted to him the attention and friendship of many other personages, distinguished by academic rank and literary reputation, especially Professors Robison, Playfair, and Black, and Messrs Horner, Leyden, Reddie, and Erskine. Ere he had completed his twentieth year, he was led, by the spirit of philosophical inquiry, to write "Ob-

servations upon Dr Darwin's *Zoonomia*," in a pamphlet which far surpassed the work which had called it forth. It appeared in 1798, and, while it excited astonishment in those who knew the years of the author, was received in other quarters as the work of a veteran in philosophy. Dr. Welsh justly characterises it as one of the most remarkable exemplifications of premature intellect which has ever been exhibited, and states that, though unfortunate in its object, and the exposure of an unworthy production, it is found to contain the germ of all Dr Brown's subsequent discoveries as to mind, and of those principles of philosophizing by which he was guided in his future inquiries. Dr Brown at this time belonged to an association of young men, which, whether from its peculiar object, the celebrity since acquired by several of its members, or *one remarkable result* of its existence, must be acknowledged as possessing no ordinary claims to attention. It was called the Academy of Physics, and its object is described in the minutes of its first meeting to have been, "the investigation of nature, the laws by which her phenomena are regulated, and the history of opinions concerning these laws." The first members were Messrs Brougham, Erskine, Reddie, Brown, Rogerson, Birbeck, Logan, and Leyden; to whom were afterwards joined Lord Webb Seymour, the Rev. Sydney Smith, and Messrs Horner, Jeffrey, and Gillespie. The Academy prosecuted its investigations with great assiduity and success for about three years; like many other clubs, the spirit in which it was originated began to change with the changed years, and altered views of its members; it flagged, failed, and was finally broken up. The remarkable result of its existence, above alluded to, was the establishment of the Edinburgh Review. The first writers in this work were Jeffrey, Brougham, Sydney Smith, Horner, and Brown. The leading article of the second number, upon Kant's philosophy, was by the last of these gentlemen. Mr. Brown, however, did not long continue to contribute; a misunderstanding with the gentleman who superintended the publication of the third number, regarding some liberties taken with one of his articles, was the cause of his retirement. Brown's first ideas as to a profession, led him to choose the bar, and for a twelvemonth he prosecuted the dry studies of the law. An insurmountable repugnance, however, to this pursuit caused him afterwards to study medicine. He obtained his degree of M.D. in 1803, on which occasion he was honoured with the highest commendations from Dr Gregory, not only for his proficiency in medical learning, but for the amazingly fluent and elegant style of his Latinity, of which no one could judge better than that learned professor, himself acknowledged to be the best Latinist of his time in Scotland. Previous to this period, namely in 1800, when he was only twenty-two years of age, his friends had, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to obtain for him the chair of rhetoric; but a system by which the clergy of the university seat were almost invariably preferred to the vacant chairs, blasted his hopes on this occasion. This disappointment, with his antipathy to the courtly party of the church, by which it was patronized, seems to have inspired him with a vehement aversion to a system, which can only be palliated by a consideration of the narrow stipends then enjoyed by the clergy, and the propriety of enriching, by this oblique means, the prospects which were to induce men of abilities to enter the church. Upon the promotion of Mr Playfair to the chair of Natural Philosophy, Mr Leslie competed for the vacant chair of Mathematics with a clergyman whose attainments in that study, though more than respectable, certainly could not be placed on an equality with those of the opposing candidate. The church party, knowing that they could not make out any superior qualifications in their candidate on the score of mathematics, endeavoured to produce the same effect by depreciating Mr Leslie's qualifications on the score of religion. Their proof lay in a note to Mr Leslie's essay on heat, containing an expression of approbation respecting Hume's doctrine of causation. The cau-

vass, which lay in the town-council, was the cause of great excitement in the literary world, and for some time absorbed every other topic of discourse in Edinburgh. Dr Brown was tempted by his feelings on this subject to come forward with an essay, disproving the inferences which were drawn from Mr Leslie's note; an essay which, in a subsequent edition, he expanded into a complete treatise on cause and effect. Through the influence of this powerful appeal, and other similar expressions of public feeling, the patrons of the chair were shamed for once out of their usual practice, and Mr Leslie received the appointment. Dr Brown had before this period published two volumes of miscellaneous poems, which, though they did not meet with brilliant success, are yet to be admired as the effusions of an ingenious and graceful mind. In 1803, immediately after receiving his diploma, he began to practise as a physician, and he had hitherto met with considerable success. He was now (1806) taken into partnership by Dr Gregory, and for some time his attention was occupied more exclusively by his profession than was at all agreeable to one disposed like him to give up worldly advantages for the sake of a darling study. The prospect of an occupation more germane to his mind, opened up to him in the winter of 1808-9, when the state of Mr Stewart's health induced him to request the services of Mr Brown as his temporary substitute. The lectures which he delivered in this capacity attracted much attention, on account of their marvellous display of profound and original thought, of copious reading, of matchless ingenuity, and of the most admirable elocution; this last accomplishment having been acquired by Dr Brown in the ordinary course of his school studies. "The Moral Philosophy Class at this period presented a very striking aspect. It was not a crowd of youthful students led into transports of admiration by the ignorant enthusiasm of the moment; distinguished members of the bench, of the bar, and of the pulpit, were daily present to witness the powers of this rising philosopher. Some of the most eminent of the professors were to be seen mixing with the students, and Mr Playfair, in particular, was present at every lecture. The originality, and depth, and eloquence of the lectures, had a very marked effect upon the young men attending the university, in leading them to metaphysical speculations."—*Wells's Memoir*. The effect of these exhibitions was so great, that when Mr Stewart, two years after, expressed a wish to have Dr Brown officially conjoined to him in the chair of Moral Philosophy, the usual influence in favour of the clergy was overcome with little difficulty. From the commencement of the session of 1810-11, he acted as the substitute of Mr Stewart, who now retired to the country; and what is certainly very wonderful, he wrote the whole of his first course of lectures during the evenings which preceded the days on which they were delivered. After the first and most difficult step had been got over, Dr Brown obtained a little leisure to cultivate that poetical vein which had all along been one of his own favourite exercises of thought; and accordingly, in 1814, he published his largest versified work entitled "*The Paradise of Coquettes*." As this poem appeared anonymously, its success, which was considerable, must have given him high gratification. He was, therefore, tempted next year to bring forth another under the title of "*The Wanderer in Norway*." The health of Dr Brown had never been good; and it was now the annual custom of this amiable and gifted being to retire during the summer vacation to some sequestered and beautiful nook of his romantic native land, in order to enjoy the country air and exercise. Sometimes he would plant himself in some Swiss-like spot, hanging between Highland and Lowland, such as the village of Logie in Glendevon. At other times he would lose himself in the woody solitudes of Dunkeld. He had all his life a fondness for romantic and rugged scenery, amidst which he would occasionally expose himself to considerable risks.



Walking was his favourite exercise, as he was thus able to pause and admire a rock, a wild flower, a brook, or whatever else of beautiful presented itself. To his gentle and affectionate heart, one object always appealed with irresistible power—namely, a cottage smoking amidst trees: he never could pass a scene of that kind without pausing to ruminate upon the inexplicable sympathy which it seems to find in almost every breast. Though possessing a heart as open as day light, the weakly health of Dr Brown, and the abstraction of his studies, seem to have checked that exuberant feeling which assumes the form called love: it is the impression of one of his surviving friends that he never experienced that sensation, at least to any extent worthy of the name. His affections were devoted to his mother, his sisters, nature, books, studies, literary fame. He seemed to have none for “the sex.” In 1817, his feelings sustained a dreadful shock in the death of the former relative, who had been his first instructress, and to whom he bore an affection bordering upon reverence. Her remains were first placed in a vault in Edinburgh; and at the end of the winter-session moved to the family burying-ground in the old church-yard of Kirkmabreck. This romantic and secluded spot Dr Brown had always viewed with great interest. A few years before, in visiting his father’s grave, he had been altogether overcome, and when he saw the earth closing in upon all that remained of a mother that was so dear to him, “and the long grassy mantle cover all,” his distress was such as to affect every person who saw him. In 1818, Dr Brown published a poetical tale, entitled “Agnes.” But his reputation in this walk of literature was not on the increase. His mind by no means wanted poetical feeling and imagery; but he never could prevent the philosopher from intruding upon his warmest visions, and accordingly there is a decided tameness in all his verse. It may be said, that, if he had not been a great philosopher, he would have been a greater poet; and, on the other hand, if he had not attempted poetry, at least his *living* reputation as a philosopher would have been somewhat enhanced. Towards the end of 1819, the ill health of Dr Brown began to assume an alarming aspect, and early in the ensuing year he found himself so weak as to be obliged to appoint a substitute to deliver his lectures. This substitute was Mr John Stewart, another of the devotees of science, and, like himself, destined soon to sink prematurely beneath the weight of intellectual exertion. Of Brown it might truly be said, that an active spirit had worn out the slender and attenuated frame in which it was enshrined. At the recommendation of his physicians, he took a voyage to London, and established himself at Brompton, then a healthy village in the vicinity, but now nearly involved in the spreading mazes of the great city. Here he gradually grew weaker and weaker, until the 2d of April, when he gently breathed his last. “Dr Brown,” says his reverend biographer, “was in height rather above the middle size, about five feet nine inches; his chest broad and round; his hair brown; his features regular; his forehead large and prominent; his eyes dark grey, well formed, with very long eye-lashes, which gave them a very soft and pleasing expression; his nose might be said to be a mixture of the Roman and Grecian, and his mouth and chin bore a striking resemblance to those of the Buonaparte family. The expression of his countenance altogether was that of calm reflection. \* \* His temper was remarkably good; so perfect was the command he had over it, that he was scarcely ever heard to say an unkind word. Whatever provocation he received, he always consulted the dignity of his own character, and never gave way to anger. Yet he never allowed any one to treat him with disrespect; and his pupils must remember the effect of a single look in producing, instantaneously, the most perfect silence in his class. \* \* At a very early period, Dr Brown formed these opinions in regard to government to which he adhered to the end of his life.

Though he was not led to take any active part in politics, he felt the liveliest interest in the great questions of the day, and his zeal for the diffusion of knowledge and of liberal opinion, was not greater than his indignation at every attempt to impede it. The most perfect toleration of all liberal opinions, and an unshackled liberty of the press, were the two subjects in which he seemed to take the most interest, and which he seemed to consider as most essential to national happiness and prosperity. In his judgment upon every political question, he was determined solely by its bearings upon the welfare of the human race; and he was very far from uniformly approving of the measures of the party to which he was generally understood to belong. Indeed, he often said, that liberty, in Scotland at least, suffered more from the Whigs than the Tories—in allusion to the departure he conceived to be sometimes made from professed principles with a view to present advantage. \* \* He was intimately acquainted with the principles of almost all the fine arts, and in many of them showed that practice only was wanting to ensure perfection in his powers of execution. His acquaintance with languages was great: French, Italian, and German, he read with the same ease as English. He read also Spanish and Portuguese, though not so fluently. \* \* \* Among the more prominent features of Dr Brown's character, may be enumerated the greatest gentleness, and kindness, and delicacy of mind, united with the noblest independence of spirit; a generous admiration of every thing affectionate or exalted in character; a manly contempt for every thing mean; a detestation for every thing that even bordered on tyranny and oppression; a truly British love of liberty, and the most ardent desire for the diffusion of knowledge, and happiness, and virtue, among mankind. In private life he was possessed of almost every quality which renders society delightful, and was indeed remarkable for nothing more than for the love of home and the happiness he shed around him there. It was ever his strongest wish to make every one who was with him happy; his exquisite delicacy of perception gave him a quick fore-feeling of whatever might be hurtful to any one; and his wit, his varied information, his classical taste, and, above all, his mild and gentlemanly manners, and his truly philosophic evenness of temper, diffused around him the purest and most refined enjoyment. Of almost universal knowledge, acquired by the most extensive reading, and by wide intercourse with the world, there was no topic of conversation to which he seemed a stranger. \* \* \* In the philosophic love of truth, and in the patient investigation of it, Dr Brown may be pronounced as at least equal, and in subtlety of intellect and powers of analysis, as superior to any metaphysician that ever existed. The predominating quality in his intellectual character was unquestionably his power of analysing, the most necessary of all qualities to a metaphysician. It is impossible, indeed, to turn to any page in his writings that does not contain some feat of ingenuity. States of mind that had been looked upon for ages as reduced to the last degree of simplicity, and as belonging to those facts in our constitution which the most sceptical could not doubt, and the most subtle could not explain, he brought to the crucible, and evolved from their simpler elements. For the most complicated and puzzling questions that our mysterious and almost inscrutable nature presents, he found a quick and easy solution. The knot that thousands had left in despair, as too complicated for mortal hand to undo, and which others, more presumptuous, had cut in twain, he unloosed with unrivalled dexterity. The enigmas which a false philosophy had so long propounded, and which, because they were not solved, had made victims of many of the finest and most highly gifted men of our race, he at last succeeded in unriddling." Dr Brown's lectures were published after his death, in 4 volumes, 8vo, and have deservedly obtained a high reputation. An account of his life and writings has been published in one volume 8vo, by the late Rev. Dr. David Welsh.

BRUCE, JAMES, a celebrated traveller, born on the 14th of December, 1730, at Kinnaird, in the county of Stirling. Bruce was by birth a gentleman, and might even be considered as nobly descended. He was the eldest son of David Bruce, Esq. of Kinnaird, who was in turn the son of David Hay of Woodcockdale, in Linlithgowshire, (descended from an old and respectable branch of the Hays of Errol,) and of Helen Bruce, the heiress of Kinnaird, who traced her pedigree to that noble Norman family, which, in the fourteenth century, gave a king to Scotland. It will thus be observed that the traveller's paternal name had been changed from Hay to Bruce, for the sake of succession to Kinnaird. The traveller was extremely vain regarding his alliance to the hero of Bannockburn, insomuch as to tell his engraver, on one occasion, that he conceived himself entitled to use royal livery! He took it very ill to be reminded, as he frequently was, that, in reality, he was not a Bruce, but a Hay, and, though the heir of line, not the *heir male* of even that branch of the family which he represented. In truth, the real Bruces of Kinnaird, his grandmother's ancestors, were but descended from a cadet of a cadet of the royal family of Bruce, and, as it will be observed, sprung off before the family became royal, though not before it had intermarried with royalty. His mother was the daughter of James Graham, Esq. of Airth, dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Scotland—a man distinguished by his abilities and respected for his public and private virtues. Unfortunately, the traveller lost his mother at the early age of three years—almost the only worldly loss which cannot be fully compensated. His father marrying a second time, had an additional family of six sons and two daughters. In his earliest years, instead of the robust frame and bold disposition which he possessed in manhood, Bruce was of weakly health and gentle temperament. At the age of eight years, a desire of giving his heir-apparent the best possible education, and perhaps also the pain of seeing one motherless child amidst the more fortunate offspring of a second union, induced his father to send him to London, to be placed under the friendly care of his uncle, counsellor Hamilton. In that agreeable situation he spent the years between eight and twelve, when he was transferred to the public school at Harrow, then conducted by Dr Cox. Here he won the esteem of his instructors, as well as of many other individuals, by the extraordinary aptitude with which he acquired a knowledge of classic literature, and the singularly sweet and amiable dispositions which he always manifested. To this reputation, his weakly health, and the fear that he was destined, like his mother, to an early grave, seems to have given a hue of tenderness, which is seldom manifested for merely clever scholars. The gentleness of his character, the result solely of bad health, led him at this early period of his life to contemplate the profession of a clergyman; a choice in which he might, moreover, be further satisfied, from a recollection of his ancestor, Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who was the leading divine in Scotland little more than a century before. So completely, however, do the minds of men take colour from their physical constitution, that on his health becoming confirmed with advancing manhood, this tame choice was abandoned for something of a bolder character; which, in its turn, appears to have given way, in still further increased strength, for something bolder still. He left Harrow, with the character of a first-rate scholar, in May 1746, and, after spending another year at an academy, in the study of French, arithmetic, and geometry, returned, May 1747, to Kinnaird, where he spent some months in the sports of the field, for which he suddenly contracted a deep and lasting attachment. It was now determined that he should prepare himself for the profession of an advocate; a road to distinction, which, as it was almost the only one left to Scotland by the Union, was then, and at a much later period, assumed by an immense proportion

of the young Scottish gentry. He entered, in the winter of 1747, as a student in the college of Edinburgh, and attended the lectures on civil law, Scottish law, and universal history. But the study was not congenial to his mind. "In vain he pored over distinctions which he did not remember, and puzzled himself with points of which he could not comprehend the importance. An ardent admirer of truth and simplicity, he very rashly conceived that, in the studies which his father had proposed for him, he could worship neither the one nor the other; moreover, while, in filial obedience, he hung his bewildered head over his law books, his youthful heart was apparently devoted to lovelier and more congenial objects, for on the leaves of '*Elementa Juris Civilis Heineccii*,' on which stands the name of 'James Bruce, 1749,' we find written in the middle of some very grave maxims, '*Bella ingrata, io morirò!*' with other equally love-sick sentiments from *Metastasio* and *Ariosto*."—*Head's Life of Bruce*. A return of bad health relieved him from this bondage. He was remanded to Kinnaird for exercise and air; and for several years he remained undetermined as to his future course of life. Be it remarked, there might have been no necessity for his leaving the paternal home in search of fortune, had not the number of his father's second family diminished his prospects of wealth from that source. Having at length resolved upon going to India, at that time a more adventurous field than it has since become, he left Scotland, July 1753, in the twenty-third year of his age, and arriving in London, was received in the kindest manner by those friends with whom he had formerly resided. While waiting for the permission of the East India directors to settle there as a free trader, he was introduced to *Adriana Allan*, the beautiful and most amiable daughter of a wealthy wine-merchant deceased. An attachment to this young lady, which soon proved mutual, once more changed his destination in life. On making known his feelings to the surviving parent of his mistress, it was suggested that, in marrying her, he might also wed himself to the excellent business left by her father. Love easily overcame every scruple he might entertain regarding this scheme; and accordingly, on the 3rd February, 1754, he was married to *Miss Allan*. For some months, Bruce enjoyed the society of this excellent creature, and during that time he applied himself to business with an enthusiasm borrowed from love. But, unfortunately, the health of his partner began to decline. It was found necessary that she should visit the south of France for a milder climate. Bruce accompanied her on this melancholy journey. Consumption outstripped the speed with which they travelled. She was unable to move beyond *Paris*. There, after a week's suffering, she died in his arms. By this event, the destiny of Bruce was once more altered. The tie which bound him to trade—almost to existence, was broken. He seems to have now thought it necessary that he should spend a life of travel. Abandoning the cares of business to his partner, and resolving to take an early opportunity of giving up his share altogether, he applied himself to the study of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, and also improved his skill in drawing, under a master of the name of *Bonneau*, recommended to him by Mr (afterwards Sir Robert) *Strange*. Before this time he had chiefly cultivated that part of drawing which relates to the science of fortification, in hopes that he might, on some emergency, find it of use in military service. But views of a more extensive kind now induced him to study drawing in general, and to obtain a correct taste in painting. This notice of his application to the study of drawing we have given in the words of his biographer (*Dr Murray*), because it was long and confidently reported by those who wished to lessen his reputation, that he was totally and incorrigibly ignorant of the art.

In July 1757, he sailed for Portugal, landed at *Corunna*, and soon reached *Lisbon*. He was much struck by the ways of the Portuguese, many of which

are directly opposite to those of all other nations. A Portuguese gentleman, showing out a friend, walks *before* him to the door; a Portuguese boatman rows with his face to the front of the vessel, and lands stern foremost; when a man and woman ride on horseback, the woman is foremost, and sits with her face to the right side of the animal. And what, in Bruce's opinion, accounted for all this contrariety, the children are rocked in cradles which move from head to foot. From Portugal, after four month's stay, Bruce travelled into Spain, where he also spent a considerable time. The sight of the remains of Moorish grandeur here inspired him with the wish of writing an account of the domination of that people in Spain; but he found the materials inaccessible through the jealousy of the government. Leaving Spain, he traversed France, visited Brussels, and, passing through Holland into Germany, there witnessed the battle of Crevelt. Returning by Rotterdam, he received intelligence of the death of his father, by which event he became laird of Kinnaird. The property he thus acquired was soon after considerably increased by the establishment of the Carron company, which was supplied with coal from his mines. He now employed himself in studying the Arabic language, a branch of knowledge then little regarded in Britain. In 1761, he withdrew entirely from the wine trade. About this time, Bruce formed an acquaintance with Mr Pitt, (the elder,) then at the head of affairs, to whom he proposed a scheme for making a descent upon Spain, against which country Britain was expected to declare war. Though this project came to nothing, Lord Halifax had marked the enterprising genius of this Scottish gentleman, and proposed to him to signalise the commencement of the new reign by making discoveries in Africa. It was not part of this proposal that he should attempt to reach the source of the Nile; that prodigious exploit, which had baffled the genius of the civilised world for thousands of years, seemed to Lord Halifax to be reserved for some more experienced person; his lordship now only spoke of discoveries on the coast of Barbary, which had then been surveyed, and that imperfectly, by only one British traveller, Dr Shaw. For this end, Bruce was appointed to be consul at Algiers. In an interview with George III., with which he was honoured before setting out, his Majesty requested him to take drawings of the ruins of ancient architecture which he should discover in the course of his travels. It having been provided that he should spend some time by the way in Italy, he set out for that country in June 1762. He visited Rome, Naples, and Florence, and fitted himself by surveying the works of ancient art, for the observations he was to make upon kindred objects in Africa. Here he formed an acquaintance with a native of Bologna, name Luigi Balugani, whom he engaged to attend him in his travels, in the capacity of an artist. He at length sailed from Leghorn to Algiers, which he reached in March 1763. Ali Pacha, who then acted as Dey in this barbarous state, was a savage character, not unlike the celebrated personage of the same name, whom Lord Byron introduced to European notice. An injudicious yielding to his will, on the part of the English government, who changed a consul at his request, had just given an additional shade of insolence and temerity to his character; and he expected to tyrannise over Bruce as over one of his own officers. The intrepidity of the new consul, it may be imagined, was, under such circumstances, called into frequent action. He several times bearded this lion in his very den, always apparently indebted for his safety to the very audacity which might have been expected to provoke his ruin. A good idea of the true British fortitude which he exerted under such circumstances, may be gained from a letter to Lord Halifax, in which, after recommending forcible measures, which would have been highly dangerous to his own personal security, he says, —“ I myself have received from a friend some private intimations to consult my

own safety and escape. The advice is impracticable, nor would I take it were it not so. Your lordship may depend upon it, that till I have the king's orders, or find that I can be of no further service here, nothing will make me leave Algiers but force. One brother has already, this war, had the honour to lose his life in the service of his country. Two others, besides myself, are still in it, and if any accident should happen to me, as is most probable from these lawless butchers, all I beg of his Majesty is that he will graciously please to extend his favour to the survivors, if deserving, and that he will make this city an example to others, how they violate public faith and the law of nations." It is this constancy and firmness, in postponing the consideration of danger to the consideration of duty, which has mainly tended to exalt the British character above those of other nations. Bruce weathered every danger, till August 1765, when, being relieved by the arrival of another consul, he left this piratical stronghold, and began to prosecute his researches along the coast of Africa. Landing at Bona, he paid a visit to Utica, "out of respect to the memory of Cato," and then, with a proper retinue for his protection, penetrated into the interior of the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis. On the borders of these states, he found a tribe named the Welled Sidi Boogannim, who are exempted from taxes on condition of their living exclusively upon lions; a means of keeping down those enemies of the public. Dr Shaw, the only British predecessor of Bruce in this line of research, had been much laughed at, and even openly scouted, for having hinted at the existence of such a custom. His friends at Oxford thought it a subversion of the established order of things, that a man should eat a lion, when it had long passed as almost the peculiar province of the lion to eat the man. Bruce was exactly the man to go the more boldly forward when such a lion was in the way.

He thus alludes, in his own travels, to the foolish scepticism with which Dr Shaw's statement had been received: "With all submission to the learned University, I will not dispute the lion's title to eating men; but since it is not founded upon patent, no consideration will make me stifle the merit of the Willid Sidi Boogannim, who have turned the chase upon the enemy. It is a historical fact, and I will not permit the public to be misled by a misrepresentation of it. On the contrary, I do aver, in the face of these fantastic prejudices, that I have ate the flesh of lions, that is, part of three lions, in the tents of the Willid Sidi Boogannim." This is certainly a notable enough specimen of the *contra audientior ito*. After having traversed the whole of these states, and taken drawings of every antiquity which he esteemed worthy of notice, he moved further west to Tripoli, where he was received with great kindness by Mr Fraser of Lovat, British consul at that place. From Tripoli he dispatched the greater part of his drawings to Smyrna, by which precaution they were saved from the destruction which must have otherwise been their fate. Crossing the Gulf of Sidra, which makes a considerable sweep into the northern coast of Africa, Bruce now reached Bengazie, the ancient Berenice built by Ptolemy Philadelphus. From this place he travelled to Ptolemais, where, finding the plague raging, he was obliged to embark hastily in a Greek vessel which he hired to carry him to Crete. This was perhaps the most unlucky step he took during the whole of his career. The vessel was not properly provided with ballast; the sails defied the management of the ignorant man who professed to steer it; it had not therefore got far from shore when a storm drove it to leeward, and it struck upon a rock near the harbour of Bengazie. Bruce took to the boat, along with a great number of the other passengers; but finding that it could not survive, and fearing lest he should be overwhelmed by a multitude of drowning wretches, he saw it necessary to commit himself at once to the sea, and endeavour to swim ashore. In this attempt, after suffering much from the vio-

lence of the surf, he was at last successful. He had only, however, become exposed to greater dangers. A plundering party of Arabs came to make prey of the wrecked vessel, and his Turkish clothing excited their worst feelings. After much suffering he got back to Bengazi, but with the loss of all his baggage, including many valuable instruments and drawings. Fortunately, the master of a French sloop, to whom he had rendered a kindness at Algiers, happened to be lying in that port. Through the grateful service of this person, he was carried to Crete. An ague, however, had fixed itself upon his constitution, in consequence of his exertions in the sea of Ptolema: it attacked him violently in Crete, and he lay for some days dangerously ill. On recovering a little, he proceeded to Rhodes, and from thence to Asia Minor, where he inspected the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra. By the time he got back to Sidon, he found that his letters to Europe announcing the loss of his instruments, were answered by the transmission of a new set, including a quadrant from Louis XV., who had been told by Count Buffon of the unhappy affair of Bengazi. In June 1768, he sailed from Sidon to Alexandria, resolved no longer to delay that perilous expedition which had taken possession of his fancy. "Previous to his first introduction to the waters of the Nile," says Captain Head, "it may not be improper, for a moment, calmly and dispassionately to consider how far he was qualified for the attempt which he was about to undertake. Being thirty-eight years of age, he was at that period of life in which both the mind and body of man are capable of their greatest possible exertions. During his travels and residence in Europe, Africa, and Asia, he had become practically acquainted with the religion, manners, and prejudices of many countries different from his own; and he had learned to speak the French, Italian, Spanish, Modern Greek, Moorish and Arabic languages. Full of enterprise, enthusiastically devoted to the object he had in view, accustomed to hardship, inured to climate as well as to fatigue, he was a man of undoubted courage, *in stature six feet four*, and with this imposing appearance, possessing great personal strength; and lastly, in every proper sense of the word, he was a gentleman; and no man about to travel can give to his country a better pledge for veracity than when, like Bruce, his mind is ever retrospectively viewing the noble conduct of his ancestors—thus showing that he considers he has a stake in society, which, by the meanness of falsehood or exaggeration, he would be unable to transmit unsullied to posterity." From Alexandria he proceeded to Cairo, where he was received with distinction by the Bey, under the character of a dervish, or soothsayer, which his acquaintance with eastern manners enabled him to assume with great success. It happened, fortunately for his design, that in the neighbourhood of Cairo resided a Greek patriarch, who had lived sometime under his roof at Algiers, and taught him the Modern Greek language. This person gave him letters to many Greeks who held high situations in Abyssinia, besides a bull, or general recommendation, claiming protection for him from the numerous persons of that nation residing in the country. Bruce had previously acquired considerable knowledge of the medical art, as part of that preparatory education with which he had fitted himself for his great task. The Bey fortunately took ill: Bruce cured him. His highness, in gratitude, furnished him with commendatory letters to a great number of ruling personages throughout Egypt, and along both shores of the Red Sea. Bruce, thus well provided, commenced his voyage up the Nile, December 12, 1768, in a large canja or boat, which was to carry him to Fushoot, the residence of Amner, the Sheikh of Upper Egypt. For two or three weeks he enjoyed the pleasure of coasting at ease and in safety along the wonder-studded banks of this splendid river, only going on shore occasionally to give the more remarkable objects a narrower inspection. He was at Fushoot on the 7th of January, 1769. Ad-

vancing hence to Sheikh Amner, the encampment of a tribe of Arabs, whose dominion extended almost to the coast of the Red Sea, he was fortunate enough to acquire the friendship of the Sheikh, or head of the race, by curing him of a dangerous disorder. This secured him the means of prosecuting his journey in a peaceable manner. Under the protection of this tribe, he soon reached Cosseir, a fort on the Red Sea, having previously, however, sent all his journals and drawings, hitherto completed, to the care of some friends at Cairo. Bruce sailed from Cosseir on the 5th of April, and for several months he employed himself in making geographical observations upon the coasts of this important sea. On the 19th of September, after having for the first time determined the latitude and longitude of many places, which have since been found wonderfully correct, he landed at Massuah, the port of Abyssinia. Here he encountered great danger and difficulty, from the savage character of the Naybe, or governor of Massuah, who, not regarding the letters carried by Bruce from the Bey of Cairo, had very nearly taken his life. By the kindness of Achmet, a nephew of the Naybe, whom Bruce rescued from a deadly sickness, he was enabled to surmount the obstacles presented against him in this place, and on the 15th November began to penetrate the country of Abyssinia. In crossing the bill of Tarenta, a mountainous ridge, which skirts the shore, the traveller encountered hardships under which any ordinary spirit would have sunk. Advancing by Dizan, Adowa, and Axum, he found himself greatly indebted for safety and accommodation to the letters which he carried for the Greeks, who formed the civilized class amongst that rude people. It was in the neighbourhood of Axum that he saw the unfortunate sight (the slicing of steaks from the rump of a live cow), which was the chief cause of his being afterwards generally discredited in his own country. On the 14th of February, after a journey of ninety-five days from Massuah, he reached Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, a town containing about ten thousand families. The king and his chief minister Ras Michael, to both of whom Bruce had letters of introduction, were now absent with the army, putting down a rebellion which had been raised by Fasil, a turbulent governor of a province. But Bruce was favourably received by one Ayto Aylo, a Greek, and chamberlain of the palace. It happened that the favourite child of Ras Michael was at this time ill with the small pox at the country palace of Koscam. Ozoro Esther, the beautiful young wife of Ras Michael, and the mother of this child, watched over the sick-bed with intense anxiety. Bruce, by the good offices of Ayto Aylo, was introduced to the distracted mother as a skilful physician; and after some preliminary civilities, he undertook to cure the child, in which task he very soon succeeded. Having thus at once made favour in a very high quarter, he waited patiently for two or three weeks, when the king and Ras Michael, having gained a victory, returned to Gondar, and Bruce was then presented to them. Ras Michael, at the first interview, acknowledged the powerful nature of Bruce's recommendations, but explained to him, that owing to the present convulsed state of the country, it would be difficult to afford him all the protection that might be wished. It appeared to Michael, that the best way of ensuring personal safety and respect for him throughout the country, would be to give him a high office in the king's household. Bruce consented, from the conviction that in becoming Baalomaal, and commander of the Koccob horse, he was doing his best towards facilitating his journey. While acting in the capacity of Baalomaal, which seems to have been somewhat like the British office of Lord of the bed-chamber, he secured the king's favour and admiration, by the common school-boy trick of shooting a small candle through a dense substance. He was now appointed to be governor of a large Mahometan province, which lay on the way he designed to take in returning home: this duty, however, he could perform by deputy. In May, the



army set out from Gondar to meet the rebel Fasil, and Bruce took that share in the fatigues and perils of the campaign which his office rendered necessary. He was of great service in improving the discipline of the army, and was looked upon as a finished warrior. After a good deal of marching and countermarching, the royal forces gained a complete victory over Fasil, who was consequently obliged to make his submission. This rebel now lived on amicable terms with the king and his officers, and Bruce, recollecting the interesting site of his government, busied himself in performing medical services to his principal officers. When the king came to ask Bruce what reward he would have for his share in the campaign, the enthusiastic traveller answered, that he only wished two favours, the property of the village of Geesh, with the spot in its neighbourhood where he understood the Nile to arise, and a royal mandate obliging Fasil to facilitate his journey to that place. The king, smiling at the humility of his desires, granted the request, only regretting that Zagoube (such was the name assumed by Bruce in his travels,) could not be induced to ask something ten times more precious. The attention of the sovereign and his minister were now distracted by the news of another insurrection in the western parts of the kingdom; and it was necessary to move the army in that direction. Bruce made the excuse of his health (which was really bad) to avoid attendance in this campaign; and at length, with some difficulty, he obtained the king's permission to set out for Geesh, which he was now resolved on, notwithstanding that the breaking out of another rebellion omened ill for the continued submission of Fasil, and consequently for the safety of the traveller. Bruce set out upon this last great stage of his journey on the 28th of October, 1770, and he was introduced to the presence of Fasil at a place called Bamba. Fasil, partly through the representations of those officers to whom Bruce had recommended himself, was in reality favourably disposed to him; but he at first thought proper to affect a contrary sentiment, and represented the design as impracticable. In the course of the wrangling which took place between the two on this subject, Bruce was so much incensed that his nose spontaneously gushed with blood, and his servant had to lead him from the tent. Fasil expressed sorrow at this incident, and immediately made amends by taking measures to facilitate Bruce's journey. He furnished him with a guide called Woldo, as also seven savage chieftains of the country for a guard, and furthermore added, what was of greater avail than all the rest, a horse of his own, richly caparisoned, which was to go before the travelling party, as a symbol of his protection, in order to insure the respect of the natives. By way of giving a feasible appearance to the journey, Bruce was invested by Fasil with the property and governorship of the district of Geesh, in which the Nile rises, so that this strangely disguised native of Stirlingshire, in the kingdom of Scotland, looked entirely like an Abyssinian chief going to take possession of an estate in the highlands of that remote and tropical country. Bruce left Fasil's house on the 31st of October, and as he travelled onward for a few days through this rude territory, the people, instead of giving him any annoyance, everywhere fled at his approach, thinking, from the appearance of Fasil's horse, that the expedition was one of taxation and contribution. Those few whom Bruce came in contact with, he found to have a religious veneration for the Nile, the remains of that Pagan worship which was originally paid to it, and which was the sole religion of the country before the introduction of Christianity. Even the savages who formed his guard, would have been apt, as he found, to destroy him, if he had crossed the river on horseback, or employed its waters in washing any part of his dress. He also learned that there was still a kind of priest of this worship, who dwelt at the fountain of the Nile, and was called "the servant of the river." It thus appeared that, as in the ruder parts of Bruce's native country, the aboriginal

religion had partly survived the ordinances of a new and purer worship for many centuries. It was early in the afternoon of November 3d, that Bruce surmounted a ridge of hills which separated him from the fountain of the Nile, and for the first time cast his European eyes upon that object—the first, and, we believe, the only European eyes that have ever beheld it. It was pointed out to him by Woldo, his guide, as a hillock of green sod in the middle of a marshy spot at the bottom of the hill on which he was standing. To quote his own account of so remarkable a point in his life—"Half undressed as I was, by the loss of my sash, and throwing off my shoes, [a necessary preliminary, to satisfy the Pagan feelings of the people], I ran down the hill, towards the hillock of green sod, which was about two hundred yards distant; the whole side of the hill was thick grown with flowers, the large bulbous roots of which appearing above the surface of the ground, and their skins coming off on my treading upon them, occasioned me two very severe falls before I reached the brink of the marsh. I after this came to the altar of green turf, which was apparently the work of art, and I stood in rapture above the principal fountain, which rises in the middle of it. It is easier to guess than to describe the situation of my mind at that moment—standing in that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and enquiry of both ancients and moderns for the course of near three thousand years. Kings had attempted this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last only by the difference of numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the disappointment which had uniformly and without exception followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprise and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography. Though a mere private Briton, I triumphed here, in my own mind, over kings and their armies! and every comparison was leading nearer and nearer to presumption, when the place itself where I stood, the object of my vain glory, suggested what depressed my short-lived triumph. I was but a few minutes arrived at the sources of the Nile, through numberless dangers and sufferings, the least of which would have overwhelmed me, but for the continual goodness and protection of Providence: I was, however, but then half through my journey, and all those dangers through which I had already passed awaited me on my return;—I found a despondency gaining ground fast, and blasting the crown of laurels which I had too rashly woven for myself." In this paragraph—one of the most deeply touching ever written—we find the Herculean mind of Bruce giving way, under the influence of success, to sensations which had scarcely ever affected him during the whole course of his journey, while as yet the desire of going onward, and the necessity of providing the means of doing so with safety, possessed and amused his mind. Nothing could be more characteristic of a great mind—by danger and hardship only braced to more nervous exertion—by opposition only rendered the more eager and firm—by the menaces of inferior minds only roused to contemptuous defiance; and only to be softened by kindness, only to be subdued by success. Many other emotions, however, must have entered the breast of the traveller in that remarkable hour of his life. All the inspiring causes of his journey must have rushed full upon him—the desire of overcoming a difficulty which had defied the civilized part of the earth since ever it was civilized—the hope of doing that which Alexander, and many of the greatest men of antiquity had wished, but failed to do—the curiosity of rendering that a matter of real and human exertion which an ancient poet could only suppose possible to a supernatural being on an extraordinary occasion:

Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem,  
Oculumque caput, quod ad huc latet.

OID in *Phaëtonem*.

and, finally, the more rational glory of performing such a service to science, as must procure for him the approbation of his sovereign and fellow-countrymen, and even obtain a peculiar distinction for his country among the other civilized nations. Besides all these emotions, which had hitherto carried his enthusiastic mind through unheard of difficulties, he must have recalled at this moment softer sensations. The idea that he was now at the extreme point of distance from home, would awaken the vision of that home which he had not seen for so many years; and from this spot, in a metaphysical *mirage*, he would see the far blue hills of his native land, the estuary, the river, the fields, and the mansion of his childhood—the hearts that beat for him there, including *one* whose pulsations were worth all the rest; and the old familiar faces, whose kindly expression had been too long exchanged for the unkindred countenances of barbarians and strangers. There might also mingle with the varied tide of his sensations a reluctantly acknowledged sense of the futility of all his exertions, and perils, and sufferings, since they had only obtained for him the sight of a Pagan altar from which proceeded one of the feeders, not certainly known to be the principal one, of the mighty Nile; to what good could this sight conduce, since, after all, it was only a sight? the object having been all along proved to exist by the mere laws of nature. The majestic intellect of Bruce might turn from such a paltry object, and confess, with secret bitterness, that the discovery of the source of the Nile was only valuable so long as it seemed impossible, but that, now being achieved, it sunk into insignificance, like the glittering air-ball seized by the hand of a child. The traveller relates that his despondency continued for some time; and that, as he could not reason it away, he resolved to direct it till he might be able, on more solid reflection, to overcome its progress. Calling to Strates, a faithful Greek, who had accompanied him throughout all his Abyssinian travels, he said, ‘Strates, faithful squire! come and triumph with your Don Quixote at that island of Barataria, to which we have most wisely and fortunately brought ourselves! Come and triumph with me over all the kings of the earth, all their armies, all their philosophers, and all their heroes!’ ‘Sir,’ says Strates, ‘I do not understand a word of what you say, and as little of what you mean: you very well know I am no scholar.’ ‘Come,’ said I, ‘take a draught of this excellent water, and drink with me a health to his Majesty George III., and a long line of princes.’ I had in my hand a large cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, which I procured in Arabia, and which was brimful.” [This cup was brought home by Bruce, and his representatives at Kinnaird still use it every day when they entertain company at dinner.] “He drank to the king speedily and cheerfully, with the addition of ‘confusion to his enemies,’ and tossed up his cap with a loud huzza. ‘Now, friend,’ said I, ‘here is to a more humble, but still a sacred name—here is to Maria!’” This was a Scottish lady, we believe, a Miss Murray of Polmaise, to whom Bruce had formed an attachment before leaving his native country. These ceremonies being completed, he entered the village of Geesh, and assumed for four days the sovereignty to which Fasil had given him a title. During this brief space, he made forty observations as to the exact geographical site of the fountain, and found it to be in north latitude  $10^{\circ} 59' 25''$ , and  $36^{\circ} 55' 30''$  east longitude, while its position was supposed from the barometer to be two miles above the level of the sea. Bruce left Geesh upon his return on the 10th of November, and he arrived at Gondar, without any remarkable adventure, on the 17th. Here he found that Fasil had set a new insurrection on foot, and had been again unsuccessful. For some time great numbers of his

adherents, or rather the adherents of a mock king whom he had set up, were daily sacrificed. Bruce was at first somewhat uneasy in this disagreeable scene, and the maxim of the Abyssinians, never to permit a stranger to quit the country, came full upon his mind. Early, however, in January, 1771, he obtained the king's permission, on the plea of his health, to return home, though not without a promise that he would come back, when his health was re-established, bringing with him as many of his family as possible, with horses, muskets, and bayonets. Ere he could take advantage of this permission, fresh civil wars broke out, large provinces became disturbed, and Bruce found that, as he had had to take part in the national military operations in order to pave the way for reaching the head of the Nile, so was it now necessary that he should do his best for the suppression of the disturbances, that he might clear his way towards home. During the whole of the year 1771, he was engaged with the army, and he distinguished himself so highly as a warrior, that the king presented him with a massive gold chain, consisting of one hundred and eighty-four links, each of them weighing 3 and 1-12th dwts. It was not till the 26th of December, thirteen months after his return from the source of the Nile, that he set out on his way towards Europe; nor even then was the country reduced to a peaceable condition. He was accompanied by three Greeks, an old Turkish Janissary, a captain, and some common muleteers; the Italian artist Balugani having died at Gondar. On account of the dangers which he had experienced at Massuah from the barbarous Naybe, he had resolved to return through the great deserts of Nubia into Egypt, a tract by which he could trace the Nile in the greater part of its course.

On the 23d of March, after a series of dreadful hardships, he reached Teawa, the capital of Abbara, and was introduced to the Sheikh, who, it seemed, was unwell, though not so much so as to have lost any part of his ferocious disposition. Bruce here met with an adventure, which, as it displays his matchless presence of mind in a very brilliant light, may be here related. He had undertaken to administer medicine to the Sheikh, who was in the alcove of a spacious room, sitting on a sofa surrounded by curtains. On the entrance of Bruce, he took two whiffs of his pipe, and when the slave had left the room said, "Are you prepared? Have you brought the money along with you?" Bruce replied, "My servants are at the other door, and have the vomit you wanted." "Curse you and the vomit too," cried the Sheikh in great passion, "I want money and not poison. Where are your piastres?" "I am a bad person," replied Bruce, "to furnish you with either; I have neither money nor poison; but I advise you to drink a little warm water to clear your stomach, cool your head, and then lie down and compose yourself; I will see you to-morrow morning." Bruce was retiring, when the Sheikh exclaimed, "Hakim, [physician] infidel, or devil, or whatever is your name, hearken to what I say. Consider where you are; this is the room where Mek Baady, a king, was slain by the hand of my father: look at his blood, where it has stained the floor, and can never be washed out. I am informed you have twenty thousand piastres in gold with you; either give me two thousand before you go out of this chamber, or you shall die; I shall put you to death with my own hand." Upon this he took up his sword, which was lying at the head of his sofa, and drawing it with a bravado, threw the scabbard into the middle of the room, and, tucking the sleeve of his shirt above the elbow, like a butcher, he said, "I wait your answer." Bruce stepped one pace backwards, and laid his hand upon a little blunderbuss, without taking it off the belt. In a firm tone of voice, he replied, "This is my answer: I am not a man to die like a beast by the hand of a drunkard; on your life, I charge you, stir not from your sofa. I had no need," says Bruce, "to give this injunction,

he heard the noise which the closing of the joint in the stock of the blunderbuss made, and thought I had cocked it, and was instantly to fire. He let his sword drop, and threw himself on his back upon the sofa, crying, 'For God's sake, Hakim, I was but jesting.'" Bruce turned from the cowed bully, and coolly wished him a good night. After being detained three weeks at this place, he set out for Sennaar, the capital of Nubia, which he reached at the end of April. He was here received kindly by the king, but the barbarous maxims of the country caused his detention for upwards of four months, during which the exhaustion of his funds caused him to sell the whole of his gold chain except a few links. At length, on the 5th of September, he commenced his journey across the great desert of Nubia, and then only, it might be said, began the true hardships of his expedition. As he advanced upon the sandy and burning plain, his provisions became exhausted, his camels and even his men perished by fatigue, and he was in the greatest danger, almost every day, of being swallowed up by the moving sands which loaded the breath of the deadly simoom. For weeks and months the miserable party toiled through the desert, enduring hardships of which no denizen of a civilized state can form the least idea. At last, on the 29th of December, just as he had given his men the last meal which remained to them, and when all, of course, had given themselves up for lost, they came within hearing of the cataracts of the Nile, and reached the town of Syene or Assouan, where succour in its amplest forms awaited them. Twelve dreadful weeks Bruce had spent upon the desert: his journey from the capital of Abyssinia to this point had altogether occupied eleven months. It was now exactly four years since he had left civilized society at Cairo; during all which time he had conversed only with barbarous tribes of people, from whose passions no man possessed of less varied accomplishment, less daring, and less address, could have possibly escaped. He sailed down the Nile to Cairo, which he reached on the 10th of January, 1773. He then sailed for Alexandria, whence he easily obtained a passage to Europe. Arriving at Marseilles in March, he was immediately visited and congratulated by a number of the French *savans*, at the head of whom was his former friend, Count de Buffon. For some time, however, he was not sufficiently recovered from the debilitating effects of his journey to enjoy the polished society to which he was restored. A mental distress, moreover, had awaited his arrival in Europe. His *Maria*, whose health he had only postponed to that of his sovereign in drinking from the fountain of the Nile, despairing of his return, had given her hand to an Italian Marchese. Bruce withered under this disappointment more than under the sun of Nubia. In a transport of indignation, he travelled to Rome, and in a style of rodomontade, only to be excused by a kind consideration of his impetuous and ingenuous character, called the Marchese to account for a transaction, in which it was evident that only the lady could be to blame. The Marchese, with Bruce's sword almost at his throat, disclaimed having married Maria with any knowledge of a previous engagement on her part: and with this Bruce had to rest satisfied. *Mente alta reposcit*; his only resource was to bury his regrets in his own proud bosom, and despite the love which could permit a question of time or space to affect it. In the summer of 1774, he returned to England, from which he had now been absent twelve years. His fame having gone before him, he was received with the highest distinction. He was introduced at court, where he presented to George III. those drawings of Palmyra, Baalbec, and the African cities, which his Majesty had requested him to execute before his departure from the country. The triumphs of this enterprising traveller were, however, soon dashed and embittered by the mean conduct of a people and age altogether unworthy of him. Bruce, wherever he went, was required to speak of what he had seen

and suffered in the course of his travels. He related anecdotes of the Abyssinian and Nubian tribes, and gave descriptions of localities and natural objects, which certainly appeared wonderful to a civilized people, though only because they were novel: he related nothing either morally or physically impossible. Unfortunately, however, the license of travellers was proverbial in Britain as elsewhere. It was also a prevailing custom at that time in private life, to exert the imagination in telling wonderful, but plausible, tales, as one of the amusements of the table. There was furthermore a race of travellers who had never been able to penetrate into any very strange country, and who, therefore, pined beneath the glories of a brother who had discovered the source of the Nile. For all these reasons, the stories of Bruce were at the very first set down for imaginary tales, furnished forth by his own fancy. This view of the case was warmly taken up by a *clique* of literary men, who, without science themselves, and unchecked by science in others, then swayed the public mind. A mere race of garreteers, or little better, destroyed the laurels of this greatly accomplished man, who had done and endured more in the cause of knowledge during one day of his life, than the whole of them together throughout the entire term of their worthless and mercenary existence. This is a dreadful imputation upon the age of George III., but we fear that the cold and narrow poverty of its literature, and the almost non-existence of its science, would make any less indignant account of its treatment of Bruce unjust. Even the country gentlemen in Scotland, who, while he was carving out a glorious name for himself and providing additional honour for his country, by the most extraordinary and magnanimous exertions, were sunk in the low sottishness of the period, or at most performed respectably the humble duties of surveying the roads and convicting the poachers of their own little districts, could sneer at the "*lies*" of Bruce. His mind shrunk from the meanness of his fellows; and he retired, indignant and disappointed, to Kinnaird, where, for some time, he busied himself in rebuilding his house, and arranging the concerns of his estate, which had become confused during his long absence. In March 1776, he provided additional means of happiness and repose, by marrying, for his second wife, Mary Dundas, daughter of Thomas Dundas, Esq. of Fingask, and of Lady Janet Maitland, daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. This amiable and accomplished person was much younger than Bruce, and it is rather a singular coincidence, remarks Captain Head, that she was born in the same year in which his first wife had died. For nine years Bruce enjoyed too much domestic happiness to admit of his making a rapid progress in the preparation of his journals for the press. But, after the death of his wife in 1785, he applied to this task with more eagerness, as a means of diverting his melancholy. We have heard that in the composition of his book, he employed the assistance of a professional litterateur, who first transcribed his journals into a continuous narrative, and then wrote them over again, involving all the alterations, improvements, and additional remarks, which the traveller was pleased to suggest. The work appeared in 1790, seventeen years after his return to Europe. It consisted of five large quarto volumes, besides a volume of drawings, and was entitled, "*Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773, by James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq., F.R.S.*" It was dedicated to the king; and it is but justice to the memory of that sovereign to state, that, while society in general raised against it the cry of envy, jealousy, and ignorant incredulity, his Majesty stood boldly up in its favour, and contended that it was a very great work. The King used to say, that, had it not been for the indecorous nature of certain passages, he could have wished to find it in the hands of all his subjects, and he would himself have placed a copy of it in every one of his palaces. The taste of this mon-

arch did not perhaps lead him to expend great sums in patronizing the arts of the lighter branches of literature, but he certainly was qualified to appreciate, and also disposed to encourage, any exertion on the part of his subjects which had a direct utility, and was consistent with honour and virtue. The *magnum opus* of Bruce was bought up by the public at its very first appearance : it required the whole of the *impression* to satisfy the first burst of public curiosity. It was, in the same year, translated into German and French.

Bruce, in his latter years, lost much of his capabilities of enjoying life by his prodigious corpulence. We have been told that at this period of his life he was enlarged to such a degree as almost to appear monstrous. His appearance was rendered the more striking, when, as was his frequent custom, he assumed an Eastern habit and turban. His death was at length caused indirectly by his corpulence. On the evening of the 27th of April, 1794, after he had entertained a large party at dinner, he was hurrying to escort an old lady down stairs to her carriage, when his foot—that foot which had carried him through so many dangers, slipped upon the steps; he tumbled down the stair, pitched upon his head, and was taken up speechless, with several of his fingers broken. Notwithstanding every effort to restore the machinery of existence, he expired that night. He was buried in the churchyard of his native parish of Larbert, where a monument indicates his last resting-place. To quote the character which has been written for him by Captain Head, "Bruce belonged to that useful class of men who are ever ready 'to set their life upon a cast, and stand the hazard of the die.' He was merely a traveller—a knight-errant in search of new regions of the world; yet the steady courage with which he encountered danger—his patience and fortitude in adversity—his good sense in prosperity—the tact and judgment with which he steered his lonely course through some of the most barren and barbarous countries in the world, bending even the ignorance, passions, and prejudices of the people he visited to his own advantage—the graphic truth with which he described the strange scenes which he had witnessed, and the inflexible fortitude with which he maintained his assertions against the barbarous incredulity of his age, place him at the top of his own class, while he at least stands *second to no man*." Bruce understood French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese—the two former he could write and speak with facility. Besides Greek and Latin, which he read well, but not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; and in the latter part of his life, compared several portions of the Scripture in those related dialects. He read and spoke with ease, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic, which had proved of the greatest service to him in his travels. It is said that the faults of his character were—iunordinate family pride, and a want of that power to accommodate one's self to the weaknesses of others, which is so important a qualification in a man of the world. But amidst the splendours of such a history, and such an intellect, a few trivial weaknesses—even allowing those to be so—are as motes in the meridian sun. A second edition of Bruce's *Travels* was published in 1805, by Dr Alexander Murray, from a copy which the traveller himself had prepared to put to press. The first volume of this elegant edition contains a biographical account of the author, by Dr Murray, who was perhaps the only man of his age whom learning had fitted for so peculiar a task as that of revising Bruce's *Travels*.

BRUCE, MICHAEL, with whose name is associated every regret that can be inspired by the early extinction of genius of a high order, still farther elevated by purity of life, was born at Kinnesswood, in the parish of Portmoak, Kinross-shire, on the 27th of March, 1746. His father, Alexander Bruce, a weaver, and his mother, whose name was also Bruce, were honest and pious Burghers; they had eight children, Michael being the fifth. Manifesting from his earliest

years much delicacy of frame and quickness of parts, it was resolved to train him for the church; and after acquiring the elements of education at the school of his native pariah and of Kinross, he was sent to the college of Edinburgh in 1762. Here he remained four years, devoting himself during the three first to those branches of learning pursued by what are called students of philosophy, and in the last applying also to the study of divinity.

Before quitting the country, he had given proofs of his predilection for poetry, which was encouraged by his friendship with Mr Arnot, a farmer on the banks of Lochleven, who, to the piety and good sense common among those of his profession, added classical scholarship and an acquaintance with elegant literature. He directed Bruce to the perusal of Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, supplied him with the books, and became a judicious adviser in regard to his youthful essays in the poetic art. Mr David Pearson, a man who read much with advantage, had also the taste to relish what Bruce had the talents to produce, and enjoyed his intimacy. After removing to Edinburgh, he lived in habits of close intercourse with Mr George Henderson and Mr William Dryburgh, who opened to him their stores of books and information, as they did their affections, and with Logan, whose congenial turn of mind made him the friend of Bruce in his life time, and his warm eulogist and editor of his works when he was no more. No one deserved better the attachment of those with whom he associated. "No less amiable as a man," says Logan, "than valuable as a writer; endued with good nature and good sense; humane, friendly, benevolent; he loved his friends, and was beloved by them with a degree of ardour that is only experienced in the era of youth and innocence." The prominent place he has given in his poems to those from whose society he had derived delight, shows how sincere was the regard he cherished for them. As if that none of the ties by which life is endeared should be wanting to him, Bruce had fixed his affections on a young woman, modest and beautiful, with whose parents he resided while teaching a school at Gairny Bridge. He has celebrated her under the name of Eumelia, in his pastoral of Alexis, and she was also the heroine of the only two songs he is known to have written.

It appears that the parents of the poet entertained peculiarly rigid notions in regard to religion, and would have been seriously displeased if they had known that any part of their son's attention was occupied by subjects apart from his theological studies. Bruce anxiously avoided giving these prejudices any cause of offence, and, when about to return home from college in 1765, took the precaution of transmitting to his friend Arnot those volumes of which he knew his father would disapprove. "I ask your pardon," says his letter on this occasion, "for the trouble I have put you to by these books I have sent. The fear of a discovery made me choose this method. I have sent Shakspeare's works, 8 vols. Pope's works, 4 vols. and Fontenelle's *Plurality of Worlds*."

Bruce acknowledges that he felt his poverty deeply when he saw books which he ardently desired to possess exposed to sale, and had not money to lay out in the purchase. The same regret has been experienced by many a poor scholar; but few perhaps terminate their complaints in the same train of pious reflection. "How well," he says, "should my library be furnished, '*nisi obstat res angusta domi!*'"

'My lot forbids; nor circumscribes alone  
My growing virtues, but my crimes confines.'

Whether any virtues should have accompanied me in a more elevated station is uncertain; but that a number of vices of which my sphere is incapable would have been its attendants is unquestionable. The Supreme Wisdom has seen this meet; and Supreme Wisdom cannot err."



Even when prosecuting his favourite studies, Bruce is said to have been liable to that depression which is frequently the attendant of genius indeed, but in his case was also the precursor of a fatal disease. In December 1764, he wrote to his friend Arnot,—“I am in health, excepting a kind of settled melancholy, for which I cannot account, that has seized on my spirits.” Such seems to have been the first imperfect announcement of his consciousness that all was not well with him. It would be a mournful task, if it were possible, to trace the gradations by which his apprehensions strengthened and grew into that certainty which only two years after this produced the *Elegy*, in which so pathetically, yet so calmly, he anticipates his own death. In these years are understood to have been written the greater part of his poems which has been given to the public. He spent the winters at college, and the summer in earning a small pittance by teaching a school, first at Gairny Bridge and afterwards at Forrest Mill near Alloa. In this latter place he had hoped to be happy, but was not; having, he confesses, been too sanguine in his expectations. He wrote here *Lochleven*, the longest of his poems, which closes with these affecting lines:—

“Thus sung the youth, amid unfertile wilds  
And nameless deserts, unpoetic ground!  
Far from his friends he stray'd, recording thus  
The dear remembrance of his native fields,  
To cheer the tedious night, while slow disease  
Prey'd on his pining vitals, and the blasts  
Of dark December shook his humble cot.”

A letter to Mr Perrson, written in the same month in which he finished this poem, affords a still closer and more touching view of the struggle which he now maintained against growing disease, the want of comforts, and of friendly consolation. “I lead a melancholy kind of life,” he says, “in this place. I am not fond of company; but it is not good that a man be still alone: and here I can have no company but what is worse than solitude. If I had not a lively imagination, I believe I should fall into a state of stupidity and delirium. I have some evening scholars; the attending on whom, though few, so fatigues me that the rest of the night I am quite dull and low-spirited. Yet I have some lucid intervals, in the time of which I can study pretty well.”

“In the autumn of 1766,” says Dr Anderson, “his constitution—which was ill calculated to encounter the austerities of his native climate, the exertions of daily labour, and the rigid frugality of humble life—began visibly to decline. Towards the end of the year, his ill health, aggravated by the indigence of his situation, and the want of those comforts and conveniences which might have fostered a delicate frame to maturity and length of days, terminated in a deep consumption. During the winter he quitted his employment at Forrest Mill, and with it all hopes of life, and returned to his native village to receive those attentions and consolations which his situation required, from the anxiety of parental affection and the sympathy of friendship. Convinced of the hopeless nature of his disease, and feeling himself every day declining, he contemplated the approaches of death with calmness and resignation, and continued at intervals to compose verses and to correspond with his friends.”

His last letter to Mr Pearson contains an allegorical description of human life, which discloses something of his state of mind under these impressive circumstances. It is so beautiful as a composition, and at the same time so touchingly connected with the author's own situation, as to mingle in the reader pity and admiration to a degree which we are not aware that there is any thing else in the whole range of literature, excepting his own *elegy to Spring*, fitted to inspire. “A few mornings ago,” he says, “as I was taking my walk on an eminence

which commands a view of the Forth, with the vessels sailing along, I sat down, and taking out my Latin Bible, opened by accident at a place in the book of Job, ix. 25,—‘Now my days are passed away as the swift ships.’ Shutting the book, I fell a musing on this affecting comparison. Whether the following happened to me in a dream or waking reverie, I cannot tell;—but I fancied myself on the bank of a river or sea, the opposite side of which was hid from view, being involved in clouds of mist. On the shore stood a multitude which no man could number, waiting for passage. I saw a great many ships taking in passengers, and several persons going about in the garb of pilots offering their service. Being ignorant, and curious to know what all these things meant, I applied to a grave old man who stood by, giving instructions to the departing passengers. His name I remember was the Genius of Human Life. ‘My son,’ said he, ‘you stand on the banks of the stream of Time; all these people are bound for Eternity—that undiscovered country from whence no traveller ever returns. The country is very large, and divided into two parts: the one is called the Land of Glory, the other the Kingdom of Darkness. The names of these in the garb of pilots are Religion, Virtue, Pleasure. They who are so wise as to choose Religion for their guide have a safe, though frequently a rough passage; they are at last landed in the happy climes where sighing and sorrow for ever fly away. They have likewise a secondary director, Virtue. But there is a spurious Virtue who pretends to govern by himself; but the wretches who trust to him, as well as those who have Pleasure for their pilot are either shipwrecked or cast away on the Kingdom of Darkness.—But the vessel in which you must embark approaches—you must be gone. Remember what depends upon your conduct.’ No sooner had he left me than I found myself surrounded by those pilots I mentioned before. Immediately I forgot all that the old man said to me, and, seduced by the fair promises of Pleasure, chose him for my director. We weighed anchor with a fair gale, the sky serene, the sea calm: innumerable little isles lifted their green heads around us, covered with trees in full blossom; dissolved in stupid mirth, we were carried on, regardless of the past, of the future unmindful. On the sudden the sky was darkened, the winds roared, the seas raged, red rose the sand from the bottom of the troubled deep; the angel of the waters lifted up his voice. At that instant a strong ship passed by; I saw Religion at the helm: ‘Come out from among them!’ he cried. I and a few others threw ourselves into his ship. The wretches we left were now tossed on the swelling deep; the waters on every side poured through the riven vessel; they cursed the Lord: when lo! a fiend rose from the deep, and, in a voice like distant thunder, thus spoke: ‘I am Abaddon, the first-born of Death; ye are my prey: open, thou abyss, to receive them!’ As he thus spoke they sunk, and the waves closed over their heads. The storm was turned into a calm, and we heard a voice saying, ‘Fear not—I am with you: when you pass through the waters, they shall not overflow you.’ Our hearts were filled with joy. I was engaged in discourse with one of my new companions, when one from the top of the mast cried out, ‘Courage, my friends! I see the fair haven,—the land that is yet afar off.’ Looking up I found it was a certain friend who had mounted up for the benefit of contemplating the country before him; upon seeing you, I was so affected, I started and waked.—Farewell, my friend, farewell!”

Bruce lingered through the winter, and in spring wrote that Elegy, “the latter part of which,” says Logan, “is wrought up into the most passionate strains of the true pathetic, and is not perhaps inferior to any poetry in any language.” How truly this is said there are few that do not know; but they who have read it often will not be fatigued by reading again.

" Now Spring returns ; but not to me returns  
 The vernal joy my better years have known ;  
 Dim in my breast life's dying taper burns,  
 And all the joys of life with health are flown.

Starting and shivering in th' inconstant wind,  
 Meagre and pale, the ghost of what I was,  
 Beneath some blasted tree I lie reclined,  
 And count the silent moments as they pass :

The winged moments, whose unstaying speed  
 No art can stop or in their course arrest  
 Whose flight shall shortly count me with the dead,  
 And lay me down in peace with them that rest.

Oft morning dreams presage approaching fate ;  
 And morning dreams, as poets tell, are true :  
 Led by pale ghosts, I enter death's dark gate  
 And bid the realms of light and life adieu.

I hear the helpless wail, the shriek of woe ;  
 I see the muddy wave, the dreary shore,  
 The sluggish streams that slowly creep below,  
 Which mortals visit, and return no more.

Farewell, ye blooming fields ! ye cheerful plains  
 Enough for me the churchyard's lonely mound,  
 Where melancholy with still silence reigns,  
 And the rank grass waves o'er the cheerless ground.

There let me wander at the close of eve,  
 When sleep sits dewy on the labourer's eyes,  
 The world and its busy follies leave,  
 And talk with wisdom where my Daphnis lies.

There let me sleep forgotten in the clay,  
 When death shall shut these weary aching eyes,  
 Rest in the hope of an eternal day,  
 Till the long night is gone, and the last morn arise."

These were the last verses finished by the author. His strength was wasted gradually away, and he died on the 6th of July, 1767, in the 21st year of his age. What he might have accomplished had longer years been assigned to him, it were needless to conjecture ; but of all the sons of genius cut off by an early death, there is none whose fate excites so tender a regret. His claims to admiration are great without any counteracting circumstance. " Nothing," says Lord Craig, after a brief allusion to the leading facts of Bruce's life,— " Nothing, methinks, has more the power of awakening benevolence than the consideration of genius thus depressed by situation, suffered to pine in obscurity, and sometimes, as in the case of this unfortunate young man, to perish, it may be, for want of those comforts and conveniences which might have fostered a delicacy of frame or of mind ill calculated to bear the hardships which poverty lays on both. For my own part, I never pass the place (a little hamlet skirted with old ash-trees, about two miles on this side of Kinross) where Michael Bruce resided—I never look on his dwelling (a small thatched house distinguished from the cottages of the other inhabitants only by a sashed window at the end, instead of a lattice, fringed with a honeysuckle plant which the poor youth had trained around it)—I never find myself in that spot but I stop my horse involuntarily, and looking on the window, which the honeysuckle has now almost covered, in the dream of

the moment, I picture out a figure for the gentle tenant of the mansion. I wish,—and my heart swells while I do so—that he were alive, and that I were a great man to have the luxury of visiting him there, and of bidding him be happy.”

Three years after Bruce's death, his poems were given to the world by Logan, who unfortunately mingled with them some of his own, and never gave any explanation by which these might be distinguished. This led to a controversy between their respective friends in regard to the authorship of a few pieces, into which it would be unprofitable to enter here, as the fame of Bruce is no way affected whichever way the dispute be decided. The attention of the public having been called to the volume by Lord Craig, in the 36th number of the *Mirror*, in 1779, a second edition was published in 1784; Dr Anderson gave Bruce's works a place in his *Collection of British Poets*, and prefixed to them a memoir from which are derived the materials of the present sketch; and, finally, the unwearied benevolence of Principal Baird brought forward an edition, in 1807, by subscription, for the benefit of the poet's mother. He could not restore her son to be the support of her old age, but made all that remained of him contribute to that end—one of the numberless deeds which now reflect honour upon his memory.

Perhaps Bruce's fame as a poet has been injured by the sympathy which his premature death excited, and by the benevolent purpose which recommended the latest edition of his works to public patronage. Pity and benevolence are strong emotions; and the mind is commonly content with one strong emotion at a time; he who purchased a book, that he might promote the comfort of the author's mother, procured for himself, in the mere payment of the price, a pleasure more substantial than could be derived from the contemplation of agreeable ideas; and he would either be satisfied with it and go no farther, or carry it with him into the perusal of the book, the beauties of which would fail to produce the same effect as if they had found his mind unoccupied. But these poems, nevertheless, display talents of the first order. Logan says of them that, “if images of nature that are beautiful and new; if sentiments warm from the heart, interesting and pathetic; if a style chaste with ornament, and elegant with simplicity; if these, and many other beauties of nature and of art, are allowed to constitute true poetic merit, they will stand high in the judgment of men of taste.” There is no part of this eulogy overstrained; but perhaps the most remarkable points in the compositions of Bruce, considering his extreme youth, are the grace of his expression and melody of his verses. Flashes of brilliant thought we may look for in opening genius, but we rarely meet with a sustained polish. The reader who glances but casually into these poems will be surprised to find how many of those familiar phrases recommended to universal use by their beauty of thought and felicitous diction—which every one quotes, while no one knows whence they are taken—we owe to Michael Bruce. As to his larger merits, the reader may judge from the union of majesty with tenderness which characterises the *Elegy* already quoted. The poem of *Lochleven* affords many passages worthy of higher names; we know not in the compass of English poetry a more beautiful image than is presented in the following lines:

“Behold the village rise  
In rural pride, 'mong intermingled trees'  
Above whose aged tops the joyful swains,  
At eventide descending from the hill,  
With eye enamour'd mark the many wreaths  
Of pillar'd smoke, high curling to the clouds.”

BRUCE, ROBERT, earl of Carrick, afterwards king of Scots, and the most

heroic as well as the most patriotic monarch which Scotland ever produced, was born on the 21st of March, 1274. He was the grandson of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, who in 1291 contested the right to the crown with John Baliol. The events which followed upon the decision of that momentous question are elsewhere detailed to the reader, [in the preceding life of John Baliol, and the subsequent one of William Wallace;] it is therefore unnecessary to advert to them in this place, unless in so far as they have reference to the family of Bruce, and in particular to the illustrious individual now under notice.

Upon the decision of Edward I. in favour of Baliol, the grandfather of king Robert, being possessed of extensive estates in the north of England, resigned the lordship of Annandale to his eldest son, on purpose, it may be supposed, to evade the humiliating necessity of doing homage to his successful rival. No other particular regarding him is known; he died at the family residence of Lochmaben, not long after, at the advanced age of eighty-five.

Robert Bruce, the son of the competitor and father of king Robert, became possessed, by this last event, of the English as well as of the Scottish estates belonging to his family. He had also acquired, in right of his wife, the heiress of Carrick, the earldom of that name,<sup>1</sup> and, in every respect, might justly be considered one of the most powerful barons in the kingdom. Either from disinclination, or, as some have suspected, from motives of policy, Robert Bruce, the second of the name, early avoided taking any share in the affairs of Scotland. When his son was yet a minor, he made resignation to him of the earldom of Carrick, and, shortly thereafter, retiring into England, left the administration of his ancient patrimony of Annandale in the same hands. During the ill-concerted and disastrous revolt of Baliol, in 1296, the Bruces maintained their allegiance to the English king. The lordship of Annandale was, in consequence, hastily declared forfeited, and the rich inheritance bestowed by Baliol upon John Comyn, earl of Buchan, who immediately seized upon and occupied the castle of Lochmaben; an injury which, there is reason to believe, the young earl of Carrick, long after, but too well remembered, and fatally repaid.

It is asserted that Edward, in order to gain securely the fidelity and assistance of the lord of Annandale and his son, had promised to bestow upon the former the kingdom of which Baliol was now to be dispossessed. It is not probable that the English monarch ever seriously entertained such an intention, and still less likely if he did, that in the flush of successful conquest he should be capable of putting it in execution. After the decisive battle of Dunbar, Bruce reminded Edward of his promise: "Have I no other business," was the contemptuous reply, "but to conquer kingdoms for you?" The elder Bruce once more retired

1 The circumstances attending this alliance, related by Mr Tytler, were of a romantic and singular description. "It appears that a short time after his return from the crusade, Bruce was riding through the beautiful domains of Turnberry Castle, the property of the widowed Countess of Carrick, who, in consequence of the death of her husband, had become a ward of the crown. The noble baron, however, if we may believe an ancient historian, cannot be accused of having visited Turnberry with any design of throwing himself in the way of the heiress of Carrick; and indeed any such idea in those days of jealous wardship would have been highly dangerous. It happened, however, that the lady herself, whose ardent and impetuous temper was not much in love with the seclusion of a feudal castle, had come out to take the diversion of the chase, accompanied by her women, huntsmen, and falconers; and this gay cavalcade came suddenly upon Bruce, as he pursued his way through the forest, alone and unarmed. The knight would have spurred his horse forward, and avoided the encounter, but he found himself surrounded by the attendants; and the Countess herself riding up, and with gentle violence taking hold of his horse's reins, reproached him in so sweet a tone for his want of gallantry in flying from a lady's castle, that Bruce, enamoured of her beauty, forgot the risk which he run, and suffered himself to be led away in a kind of triumph to Turnberry. He here remained for fifteen days, and the adventure concluded, as might have been anticipated, by his privately espousing the youthful Countess without having obtained the concurrence of the king, or of any of her relations."

to his estate in England, where he passed the remainder of his days in safe and opulent obscurity; and the earl of Carrick was commissioned to receive in the name of the English king the homage of his own and his father's vassals. So subdued and unpromising were, in their commencement, the fortunes of him upon whom the fortunes of Scotland were finally destined to depend.

In the Scots parliament which Edward assembled at Berwick in order to the settlement of his new conquest, he received the homage of great numbers of the clergy and laity, and among the rest of the earl of Carrick, who probably dared not at such a juncture incur even the suspicion of the English king. The extensive estates which he held, in virtue of his father's resignation, or by his permission, extending between the firths of Clyde and Solway, and bordering upon England; the number and power of his connections and dependants, rendered still more formidable by the discomfiture and depression of the rival family; to say nothing of the personal talents and ability of the young earl himself, must have rendered him sufficiently liable to the jealous scrutiny of so politic a sovereign as Edward; and Bruce, whether or not at this time he entertained designs upon the crown, must have acted with prudence and circumspection in dispelling, even at the expense of his oath, those doubts with which his fidelity would be regarded. On the other hand, the residence of the elder Bruce in England, and the great property possessed by the family in that kingdom, were an actual guarantee in the hands of Edward of the Bruces' loyalty; nor is it unlikely that he would be swayed by a wise policy in attaching to himself, without any show of distrust or aversion, that party in the state from whom he had most to fear. By so doing he could most effectually destroy any popular feeling which might spring up in favour of claims which could not readily be forgotten, and for the assertion of which he had himself removed the greatest obstacle in the deposition of Baliol. Forbearance on the one side, and submissiveness on the other, were probably dictated to each by opposite though equally strong convictions of expediency.

During the noble stand made by Wallace against the national defection, the earl of Carrick, though he remained inactive, was not overlooked by the jealous eye of the English government. The bishop of Carlisle, and other barons to whom the peace of the western districts was committed, became suspicious of his fidelity, and summoned him to appear before them, when he made oath on the sacred host and the sword of St. Thomas to be faithful and vigilant in the service of Edward. To evince his sincerity, he immediately after laid waste the lands of Sir William Douglas, carrying the wife and family of that knight prisoners into Annandale. It seems probable that this enterprise was undertaken merely to serve as a pretext for assembling his military retainers; for he had no sooner collected these around him than he abandoned the English interests, and joined the army of the Scots; alleging, in vindication of his conduct, that the solemn oath which he had so lately taken had been extorted from him by force, and that in such a case the Pope would, he doubted not, absolve him from its observance. Bruce did not remain long faithful to his new allies. A few months after, at the capitulation of Irvine, he made his peace with Edward, giving what sureties were required for his future loyalty.

The signal success achieved by the Scots at Stirling, induced Bruce once more to join the national cause; but the Comyns, now the principal rivals of his family for the vacant throne, being, at the same time, opposed to Edward, he seems to have prudently avoided taking any active share in the contest. Refusing to join the army, he shut himself up in Ayr castle, by this means ostensibly preserving the communication open between Galloway and the western Highlands. On the approach of Edward into the west, after the battle of Falkirk,

the earl after destroying the fortress, found it necessary to retire. Displeased as the English king had reason to be with the vacillating conduct of Bruce at this juncture, he did not chastise it otherwise than by taking temporary possession of Lochmaben castle, the fortified patrimonial inheritance of the family. Among the confiscations of property which followed, Annandale and Carrick remained unalienated, a favour which the younger Bruce probably owed to the fidelity and services of his father in the English cause.

In the year 1299, not long after the fatal issue of the battle of Falkirk, we find the earl of Carrick associated with John Comyn, the younger of Badenoch, in the regency of Scotland. The motives which actuated Bruce in thus leaguings himself with a rival, with whom he never hitherto had acted in concert, have been variously represented, and the fact itself has even been called in question. The consciousness of having lost the confidence of the English king, and a desire, mutually entertained, to humble and destroy the authority of Wallace, which but too well succeeded, could not but influence powerfully the conduct of both parties. This baleful object accomplished, Bruce seems to have once more resumed the inactive course of policy which he saw fit to maintain in the late struggle; relinquishing to the, perhaps, less wary Comyn, the direction of the hazardous power which he seemed so willing to wield. In the following year, Edward again invaded Scotland, laid waste the districts of Annandale and Carrick, and once more possessed himself of the castle of Lochmaben. Bruce, though, on this occasion, he was almost the only sufferer in the cause which he had espoused, cautiously avoided, by any act of retaliation or effective co-operation with Comyn to widen irremediably the breach with Edward; and we find, that prior to the advantage gained by his coadjutor at Rosslyn, he had returned once more to the interests of the English party. The victorious campaign of Edward, which in 1304 ended in a more complete subjugation of Scotland than his arms and policy had hitherto been able to effect, justified the prudent foresight, though it tarnished the patriotic fame of the earl of Carrick. His lukewarmness in the cause of the regency, and timely defalcation from it, procured his pardon upon easy terms, and seemed to restore to him, in a great measure, the confidence of Edward, with which he had so repeatedly dared to trifle. His father, the lord of Annandale, dying at this critical time, the young Bruce was allowed to inherit the whole extensive estates of his family in both kingdoms; and so unequivocally, indeed, had he recovered the favour of the English monarch, that he was held worthy of advising and aiding in the settlement of Scotland as a province under the rule of England. Comyn, who had acted throughout with sincerity and constancy, in the trust reposed in him, and whose submission had been a matter of necessity, was subjected to a heavy fine, and fell, in proportion to his rival's elevation, in the confidence and estimation of the king.

The versatility of Bruce's conduct, during the various changes and reverses which we have noticed, has been variously commented upon by historians, as they have been led to consider it in a moral or political point of view; and, indeed, in whatever way it may be explained, it forms a singular contrast to the honourable, bold, and undeviating career of his after life. In extenuation of such obvious derelictions from principle and consistency, we must not leave out of consideration the effects which peculiar circumstances will sometimes powerfully operate on the conduct, where the mind has been irresistibly devoted to the attainment of some great and engrossing object. That natural irresoluteness, too, by which the boldest spirit may be beset, while meditating the actual and decisive plunge into a hazardous enterprise, may cause a seeming vacillation of purpose, arising more from a deep sense of the importance of the venture, than from fear of the consequences attending it. That Bruce should early entertain a per-

susian that his family were justly entitled to the throne, was every way natural, and we have already noticed, that hopes of their actually attaining to it were held out by Edward himself to the lord of Annandale. Nurtured and strengthened in such feeling, the young aspirant to royalty could not be expected to entertain attachment to the house of Baliol; and must have regarded with still greater aversion and distrust the sovereignty usurped by the power and stratagem of England over the rights and pretensions of all his race. During the struggle, therefore, of those contending interests—the independence of Scotland under Baliol, or its subjugation under Edward—he necessarily remained more in the situation of a neutral though deeply interested observer, than an active partisan; the success of either party involving in an almost indifferent degree the high claims, and, it might be, the existing fortunes of his house.

Taking these considerations into account, there is little difficulty in reconciling to itself the line of conduct which Bruce had hitherto pursued. By joining heartily with neither party, he prudently avoided committing the fortunes of his family to the hazard of utter destruction, and his right and influence could give, upon any emergency, a necessary and required preponderance to either side. He must have foreseen, too, with secret satisfaction, the consequences which would result to his own advantage from a contest in which the strength and resources of his rivals were mutually wasted, whilst his own energies remained entire, and ready on any favourable opportunity to be called decisively into action. That these were not exerted sooner, the existence of his father down to this period, and his submission to the English government, may suggest a sufficient reason; and his own accession to the regency, in the name of the deposed Baliol, was a circumstance which could not but affect unfavourably, during its continuance, the assertion of his pretensions.

Meantime, while Bruce outwardly maintained the semblance of loyalty to Edward, he was not idle in secretly advancing the objects of his own ambition; and when actually engaged in assisting Edward in the settlement of the Scottish government, he entered into a secret bond of association with Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, whereby the parties became bound to aid each other against all persons whatever, and not to undertake any business of moment unless by mutual advice. No measure on the part of Bruce could be more politic than this was, of enlisting in his cause the power and influence of the church; and the reader may afterwards have occasion to remark that he owed his success more to their firm adherence to his interest, than to all the efforts of the nobility. Lamberton and his colleagues were more alarmed at the prospect of being subjected to the spiritual supremacy of York or Canterbury, than concerned for the temporal subjugation of their country; and thus, in the minds of the national clergy, the independence of the church became intimately associated with the more general cause of popular freedom. In addition to the spiritual power which Lamberton possessed, as head of the Scottish church, the effective aid which he could furnish by calling out the military retainers upon the church lands, was far from inconsiderable. Though we are not informed of any other similar contract to the above having been entered into between Bruce and his partizans, there can be little doubt that this was not the only one, and that he neglected no safe expedient to promote and facilitate the enterprise which he contemplated. Notwithstanding, however, all the prudent caution and foresight displayed in these preparatory measures, the better genius of Bruce would seem utterly to have deserted him at the very critical moment of his fortune when its guidance was most required.

Before entering upon the important event to which we have alluded, it will be necessary to state briefly the relative position of the two great parties in the



kingdom as opposed to each other. John Baliol, supposing his title to have been well founded, had repeatedly renounced all pretensions to the crown of Scotland; and had for several years remained a voluntary exile in France, without taking any steps towards the recovery of those rights, of which, it might have been urged, the violence of the king of England had deprived him. He was to be considered, therefore, as having not only formally, but virtually, forfeited all claim to the kingdom. His son, Edward, was at that time a minor and a captive. John Comyn, commonly called the Red Comyn, was the son of Marjory, the sister of Baliol, and, setting Baliol aside, was the heir of the pretensions of their common ancestor. As regent of Scotland and leader of her armies, Comyn had maintained for many years the unequal contest with Edward; and he had been the last to lay down his arms and accept conditions of peace from that prince. Though the terms of his submission had been rigorous, he was yet left in possession of large estates, a numerous vassalage, and, what in that warlike age was of consequence, an approved character for courage and conduct in the field.

Plausible as were the grounds upon which Comyn might have founded his claim to the crown, and powerfully as these might have been supported against the usurped sovereignty of England, there was little likelihood that in a competition with Bruce they could ever finally have prevailed. That family, according to the ancient usage of the kingdom, ought to have been preferred originally to that of Baliol; and this fact, generally known and acknowledged, as it could not fail to be, would, had they chosen to take advantage of it, have rendered their cause, at any time, a popular one. The award of Edward from the consequences which followed upon it, had become odious to the nation; and the pusillanimity and misfortunes of the abdicated and despised king, would leave, however undeservedly, their stigma upon his race. It was a curious enough illustration of the deep rooted existence of such a feeling, that, nearly a century afterwards, a king of Scotland who happened to possess the same unfortunate name of John, saw fit upon his coronation to change it for another, less ominous of evil in the recollections of his subjects. What might have been the fate of the contest, had it taken place, between two such rivals, it is now needless to inquire. We have seen that Bruce, at the crisis at which we have arrived, was possessed of those advantages unimpaired, of which the other, in the late struggle, had been, in a great measure, deprived; and, there is reason to believe, that Comyn, whose conduct had been consistent and honourable, felt himself injured and indignant at a preference which he might suppose his rival had unworthily earned. Thus under impressions of wrong and filled with jealous apprehensions, for which there was much apparent and real cause, the Red Comyn might be presumed willing, upon any inviting occasion, to treat Bruce as an enemy whom, by every means in his power, it was his interest to circumvent or destroy.

The league into which Bruce had entered with Lamberton, and perhaps other transactions of a similar nature, were not so secretly managed, but that suspicions were awakened; and this is said to have led to an important conference between these rivals on the subject of their mutual pretensions. At this meeting, Bruce, after describing in strong terms the miserable effects of the enmity which had so long subsisted between their different families, by which they themselves were not only deprived of station, but their country of freedom, proposed, as the best means, both of averting future calamity and for restoring their own privileges and the people's rights, that they should henceforward enter into a good understanding and bond of amity with each other. "Support my title to the crown," he is represented to have said, "and I will give you my lands; or, give me your lands and I will support your claim." Comyn agreed to waive his

right, and accept the lands; and the conditions having been drawn up in form of indenture, were sealed by both parties, and confirmed by their mutual oaths of fidelity and secrecy.

Bruce shortly afterwards repaired to the English court, where he still enjoyed the confidence and favour of the king; and whilst there, Comyn, from what motive is unknown, but probably from the design of ruining a rival whom he secretly feared and detested, revealed his knowledge of the conspiracy to Edward. The king, upon receiving this information, thought fit to dissemble his belief in its veracity, with a view, it is conjectured, of drawing within his power the brothers of Bruce, previously to striking the important blow which he meditated. With a shrewdness and decision, however, peculiar to his character, he frankly questioned Bruce upon the truth of Comyn's accusation, adducing, at the same time the letters and documents which he had received as evidences of the fact. The Earl, much as he might feel staggered at the sudden disclosure of Comyn's treachery, or alarmed at the imminent peril of his situation, had recollection enough remaining to penetrate the immediate object of the king in this insidious scrutiny, and presence of mind to baffle the sagacity by which it was suggested. Though taken so completely by surprise, he betrayed no outward signs of guilt or confusion; and succeeded by his mild and judicious answers in re-establishing to all appearance the confidence of the crafty monarch; who had, indeed, his reasons for this seeming reliance, but who all along was of too suspicious a nature to be so easily convinced. He had in fact determined upon the Earl's ruin; and, having one evening drank freely, was indiscreet enough to disclose his intentions in presence of some of the nobles of his court. The Earl of Gloucester, a kinsman of Bruce, chanced either to be present, or to have early notice of his friend's danger, and, anxious to save him, yet not daring, in so serious a matter, too rashly to compromise his own safety, sent to him a pair of gilded spurs and a few pieces of money, as if he had borrowed them from him the day before. Danger is said to be an acute interpreter; and Bruce divined correctly that the counsel thus symbolically communicated warned him to instant flight. Taking his measures, therefore, with much privacy, and accompanied by his secretary and one groom, he set out for Scotland. On approaching the western marches the small party encountered a messenger on foot, whose deportment struck them as suspicious. He was searched; and proved to be an emissary sent by Comyn with letters to the King of England. The man was killed upon the spot; and Bruce, now possessed of substantial proofs of the perfidy of his rival, pressed forward to his castle of Lochmaben, which he is reported to have reached on the fifth day after his precipitate flight from London.

These events occurred in the month of February, 1306; at which time, according to a regulation of the new government, certain English judges were holding their courts at Dumfries. Thither Bruce immediately repaired, and finding Comyn in the town, as he had expected, requested a private interview with him, which was accorded; but, either from some inward misgiving on the one side, or a desire to impress assurance of safety on the other, the meeting took place near the high altar in the convent of the Minorite Friars. Bruce is said to have here passionately reproached Comyn for his treachery, to which the other answered by flatly giving him the lie. The words were scarcely uttered, when the Earl, giving a loose to the ungovernable fury which he had hitherto restrained, drew his dagger and stabbed, but not mortally, his unguarded opponent. Instantly hastening from the church, he called eagerly to his attendants for his horse. Lindsay and Kirkpatrick, by whom he had been accompanied, seeing him pale and agitated, anxiously inquired the cause. "I doubt I have slain Comyn," replied the Earl. "You doubt?" cried Kirkpatrick fiercely, "I see

mak sicker;" and rushing into the sanctuary, he found Comyn still alive, but helpless and bleeding upon the steps of the high altar. The dying victim was ruthlessly dispatched on the sacred spot where he lay; and, almost at the same moment, Sir Robert Comyn, the uncle, entering the convent upon the noise and alarm of the scuffle, shared in a similar fate. The tumult had now become general throughout the town; and the judges who held their court in a hall of the castle, not knowing what to fear, but believing their lives to be in immediate danger, hastily barricaded the doors. Bruce, assembling his followers, surrounded the castle, and threatening to force an entrance with fire, obliged those within to surrender, and permitted them to depart in safety from Scotland.

That this fatal event fell out in the heat and reckless passion of the moment, there can be no doubt. Goaded as he had been to desperation by the ruin which he knew to be impending over him, and even insulted personally by the individual who had placed him in such jeopardy, Bruce dared hardly, in that age of superstitious observance, to have committed so foul an act of sacrilegious murder. In the imperfectly arranged state of his designs, without concert among his friends, or preparation for defence, the assassination of the first noble in the land, even without the aggravations which in this instance particularized the deed, could not but have threatened the fortune of his cause with a brief and fatal issue. He knew, himself, that the die of his future life was now cast; and that the only alternative left, upon which he had to make election, was to be a fugitive or a king. Without hesitation, he at once determined to assert his claim to the Scottish crown.

When Bruce, thus inevitably pressed by circumstances, adopted the only course by which there remained a chance of future exaltation and honour, he had not a single fortress at his command besides those two patrimonial ones of Lochmaben and Kildrummy; the latter situated in Aberdeenshire, at too great a distance from the scene of action to prove of service. He had prepared no system of offensive warfare; nor did it seem that, in the beginning, he should be even able to maintain himself on the defensive, with any hope of success. Three earls only, those of Lenox, Errol, and Athole, joined his standard; Randolph, the nephew of Bruce, who afterwards became the renowned Earl of Moray, Christopher of Seaton, his brother-in-law; Sir James Douglas, whose fate became afterwards so interestingly associated with that of his master, and about ten other barons then of little note, but who were destined to lay the foundations of some of the most honourable families in the kingdom, constituted, with the brothers of the royal adventurer, the almost sole power against which such fearful odds were presently to be directed—the revenge of the widely connected and powerful house of Comyn, the overwhelming force of England, and the fulminations of the church. Without other resource than what lay in his own undaunted resolution, and in the untried fidelity and courage of his little band, Bruce ascended the throne of his ancestors, at Scone, on the 27th day of March, 1306.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed with what state the exigency and disorder of the moment permitted. The Bishop of Glasgow supplied from his own wardrobe the robes in which Robert was arrayed on the occasion; and a slight coronet of gold was made to serve in absence of the hereditary crown; which, along with the other symbols of royalty, had been carried off by Edward into England. A banner, wrought with the arms of Baliol, was delivered by the Bishop of Glasgow to the new king, beneath which he received the homage of the earls and knights by whom he was attended. The earls of Fife, from a remote antiquity, had possessed the privilege of crowning the kings of Scotland; but at this time, Duncan, the representative of that family, favoured the English interest. His sister, however, the Countess of Buchan, with a boldness and

spirit characteristic of the days of chivalry, secretly withdrawing from her husband, repaired to Scone, and asserted the pretensions of her ancestors. It is not unlikely that this circumstance added to the popular interest felt for the young sovereign. The crown was a second time placed on the head of Bruce by the hands of the Countess; who was afterwards doomed to suffer, through a long series of insult and oppression, for the adventurous and patriotic act which has preserved her name to posterity.

Edward resided with his court at Winchester when the intelligence of the murder of Comyn, and the revolt of Bruce reached his ears. That monarch, whose long career of successful conquest was once again to be broken and endangered, had reached that period of life when peace and tranquillity even to the most indomitable spirits become not only desirable but coveted blessings. The great natural strength of his constitution had, besides, ill withstood the demands which long arduous military service, and the violent excitations of ambition had made upon it. He was become of unwieldy bulk, and so infirm in his limbs as to be unable to mount on horseback, or walk without difficulty. Yet the spirit which had so strongly actuated the victor on former occasions did not desert the king on the present emergency. He immediately despatched a message to the Pope, demanding in aid of his own temporal efforts, the assistant thunder of the holy see, a requisition which Clement V., who had formerly been the subject of Edward, readily complied with. The sentence of excommunication was denounced against Bruce and all his adherents, and their possessions placed under the dreaded ban of interdiction. The garrison towns of Berwick and Carlisle were strengthened; and the Earl of Pembroke, who was appointed guardian, was ordered to proceed against the rebels in Scotland, at the head of a small army, hastily collected, for the occasion.

Those were but preparatory measures. Upon Edward's arrival in London, he conferred knighthood upon his son the Prince of Wales, and nearly three hundred other persons, consisting, principally, of young men selected from families of rank throughout the kingdom; and conducted the ceremony with a pomp and magnificence well calculated to rouse the martial ardour and enterprise of his subjects. At a splendid banquet to which his nobility and the new made knights were invited, the aged king is recorded to have made a solemn vow to the God of heaven, that he would execute severe vengeance upon Bruce for the daring outrage which he had committed against God and his church; declaring, that when he had performed this duty, he would never more unsheath his sword against a Christian enemy; but should devote the remainder of his days to waging war against the Saracens for the recovery of the Holy Land, thence never to return from that sanctified warfare. Addressing his son, he made him promise, that, should he die before the accomplishment of his revenge, he should carry his body with the army, and not commit it to the earth, until a complete victory over his enemies should be obtained.

Pembroke, the English guardian, took early possession of the trust which had been confided to him; and marching his small army upon Perth, a walled and strongly fortified town, he there established his head-quarters. Bruce, during the short interval which had elapsed since his coronation, had not been altogether unsuccessful in recruiting the numbers and establishing order among his band of followers; nor did he think it prudent to delay engaging this portion of the English forces, greatly superior as they were, in every respect, to his own, prompted perhaps by the desire of striking an early and effectual blow, by which he might give credit and confirmation to his cause before the important succours expected by the enemy should arrive. On drawing near Perth, he sent a challenge, according to the chivalrous practice of the age, defying the English com-

mander to battle in the open field. Pembroke returned for answer, that the day was too far spent, but that he would be ready to join battle on the morrow. Satisfied with this acceptance, Robert drew off his army to the neighbouring wood of Methven, where he encamped for the night; parties were dispersed in search of provisions, and the others, throwing aside their armour, employed themselves in making the necessary arrangements for comfort and repose. By a very culpable neglect, or a most unwarrantable reliance on the promise of the English Earl, the customary watches against surprise were either altogether omitted, or very insufficiently attended to. Pembroke having, by his scouts, intelligence of this particular, and of the negligent posture of the Scottish troops, drew out his forces from Perth, towards the close of day; and gaining the unguarded encampment without observation, succeeded in throwing the whole body into complete and irremediable confusion. The Scots made but a feeble and unavailing resistance, and were soon routed and dispersed in every direction. Philip de Mowbray is said to have unhorsed the king, whom he seized, calling aloud that he had got the new made king; when Robert was gallantly rescued from his perilous situation by Chrystal de Seton his body esquire. Another account affirms that Robert was thrice unhorsed in the conflict, and thrice remounted by Simon Frazer. So desperate, indeed, were the personal risks which the King encountered on that disastrous night in the fruitless efforts which he made to rally his dismayed and discomfited followers, that, for a time, being totally unsupported, he was made prisoner by John de Haliburton, a Scotsman in the English army, but who set him at liberty on discovering who he was.

To have sustained even a slight defeat at the present juncture would have proved of incalculable injury to Bruce's cause: the miserable overthrow at Methven, seemed to have terminated it for ever; and to have left little else for Edward to do, unless to satisfy at his leisure the vindictive retribution which he had so solemnly bound himself to execute. Several of Robert's truest and bravest friends were made prisoners; among whom were Haye, Barclay, Frazer, Inchmartin, Sommerville, and Randolph. With about five hundred men, all that he was able to muster from the broken and dispirited remains of his army, Bruce penetrated into the mountainous country of Athole. In this small, but attached band, he still numbered the Earls of Athole and Errol, Sir James Douglas, Sir Neil Campbell, and his own brave brothers, Edward and Nigel.

Bruce and his small party, reduced indifferently to the condition of proscribed and hunted outlaws, endured the extremity of hardships among the wild and barren fastnesses to which they had retreated for shelter. The season of the year, it being then the middle of summer, rendered such a life, for a time, possible; but as the weather became less favourable, and their wants increased in proportion, they were constrained to descend into the low country of Aberdeenshire. Here Robert met with his queen and many other ladies who had fled thither for safety; and who, with an affectionate fortitude resolved, in the company of their fathers and husbands, to brave the same evils with which they found them encompassed. The respite which the royal party here enjoyed was of brief duration. Learning that a superior body of English was advancing upon them, they were forced to leave the low country and take refuge in the mountainous district of Breadalbane. To these savage and inhospitable retreats they were accompanied by the queen and the other ladies related to the party and to their broken fortunes by ties, it would seem, equally strong; and again had the royalists to sustain, under yet more distressing circumstances, the rigorous severity of their lot. Hunting and fishing were the precarious, though almost the only means, which they had of sustaining life; and the good Sir James Douglas is particularly noticed by the minute Barbour for his success in these pursuits; and the devoted

zeal which he manifested in procuring every possible alleviation and comfort for his forlorn and helpless companions.

While the royalists thus avoided the immediate peril which had threatened them from one quarter, by abiding in those natural strong-holds which their enemy could not force, they almost inevitably came in contact with another danger no less imminent. They fell upon Charybdis seeking to avoid Scylla. The Lord of Lorn, upon the borders of whose territories they lay, was nearly connected by marriage with the family of the murdered Comyn; and, as might be expected, entertained an implacable hatred towards the person and the cause of the Scottish king. Having early intelligence of the vicinity, numbers, and necessities of the fugitive royalists, this powerful baron collected together a body of nearly a thousand of his martial dependants, men well acquainted with the advantages and difficulties of such a country, and besetting the passes, obliged the king to come to battle in a narrow defile where the horse of the party could possibly prove of no service, but were indeed an incumbrance. Considerable loss was sustained on the king's side in the action; and Sir James Douglas and de la Haye were both wounded. The king dreading the total destruction of his followers, ordered a retreat; and himself boldly taking post in the rear, by desperate courage, strength, and activity, succeeded in checking the fury of the pursuers, and in extricating his party. The place of this memorable contest is still pointed out, and remembered by the name of Dalry, or the king's field.

The almost incredible displays of personal prowess and address which Robert made on this occasion, are reported to have drawn forth the admiration even of his deadly enemies. In one of those repeated assaults which he was obliged to make in order to repress the impetuous pursuit of the assailants, he was beset, all at once, by three armed antagonists. This occurred in a pass, formed by a loch on the one side, and a precipitous bank on the other, and so narrow as scarcely to allow of two horses riding a-breast. One seized the king's horse by the bridle; but by a blow, which severed his arm in two, was almost instantly disabled. Another got hold of the rider's foot within the stirrup iron with the purpose of unhorsing him; but the king standing up in the stirrup, and urging his steed forward, dragged the unfortunate assailant to the ground. The third person leaped up behind him in hope of pinioning his arms and making him prisoner, or of despatching him with his dagger; but turning round, and exerting his utmost strength, Robert forced him forwards upon the horse's neck and slew him; after which he killed the helpless wretch who still dragged at his side. Barbour, the ancient authority by whom this deed of desperate valour is recorded, has contrived, whether intentionally or not, to throw an air of probability over it. The laird of Macnaughton, a follower of the lord of Lorn, we are told, was bold enough, in the presence of his chief, to express a generous admiration of the conduct of the heroic king. Being upbraided for a liberality which seemed to imply a want of consideration for the lives and honour of his own men, he replied by nobly observing, "that he who won the prize of chivalry, whether friend or foe, deserved to be spoken of with respect."

The danger which the royalist party had thus for the time escaped, the near approach of winter, during which, in so sterile a country, the means of support could not be procured, and the almost certain destruction which they would encounter should they descend into the level country, induced the king to give up all thoughts of keeping the field longer in the face of so many pressing and manifest perils and difficulties. The queen and the ladies who accompanied her, were put under the escort of the remaining cavalry; and the charge of conducting them safely to the strong castle of Kildrummie, committed to Nigel, the king's second brother, and the earl of Athole. The parting was sorrowful on both

sides; and Robert here took the last leave of his brother Nigel, who not long after fell among many others, a victim to the inexorable vengeance of Edward.

Robert now resolved, with the few followers whom he still retained, amounting to about two hundred men, to force a passage into Cantire; that thence he might cross over into the north of Ireland, probably with the hope of receiving assistance from the earl of Ulster, or, at all events, of eluding for a season the hot pursuit of his enemies. At the banks of Lochlomond the progress of the party was interrupted. They dared not to travel round the lower end of the lake, lest they should encounter the forces of Argyle; and until they should reach the friendly country of the earl of Lennox, they could not, for a moment, consider themselves safe from the enemies who hung upon their rear. Douglas, after a long search for some means of conveyance, was fortunate enough to discover a small boat capable of carrying three persons, but so leaky and decayed, that there would be much danger in trusting to it. In this, which was their only resource, the king and Sir James were ferried over the lake. Some accomplished the passage by swimming; and the little boat went and returned until all the others were at length safely transported. The royalists, forlorn as their circumstances were, here felt themselves relieved from the harassing disquietudes which had attended their late precipitate marches; and the king, while they were refreshing themselves, is said to have recited for their entertainment the story of the siege of Egrymor, from the romance of Ferembras: thus with a consciousness of genuine greatness, which could afford the sacrifice, was Robert cheerfully contented to resign the privilege which even superior calamity itself bestowed upon him; and divert his own sympathies, in common with those of his humblest followers, into other and more pleasing channels.

It was here, while traversing the woods in search of food, that the king accidentally fell in with the earl of Lennox, ignorant till then of the fate of his sovereign, of whom he had received no intelligence since the defeat at Methven. The meeting is said to have affected both, even to tears. By the earl's exertions the royal party were amply supplied with provisions, and were shortly after enabled to reach in safety the castle of Dunaverty in Cantire, where they were hospitably received by Angus of Isla. Bruce remained no longer in this place than was necessary to recruit the strength and spirits of his companions. Sir Niel Campbell having provided a number of small vessels, the fugitive and now self-exiled king, accompanied by a few of his most faithful followers, passed over to the small island of Rachrin, on the north coast of Ireland, where they remained during the ensuing winter.

A miserable destiny awaited the friends and partisans whom Bruce had left in Scotland. Immediately after the rout at Methven, Edward issued a proclamation by which search was commanded to be made after all those who had been in arms against the English government, and they were ordered to be delivered up dead or alive. It was ordained, that all who were at the slaughter of Comyn, or who had harboured the guilty persons or their accomplices, should be drawn and hanged: that all who were already taken, or might hereafter be taken in arms, and all who harboured them, should be hanged or beheaded; that those who had voluntarily surrendered themselves, should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure: and that all persons, whether of the ecclesiastical order or laymen, who had willingly espoused the cause of Bruce, or who had procured or exhorted the people of Scotland to rise in rebellion, should, upon conviction, be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. With regard to the common people, a discretionary power of fining and ransoming them, was committed to the guardian.

This ordinance was enforced with a rigour corresponding to the spirit in which it was framed; and the dread of Edward's vengeance became general through-

out the kingdom. The castle of Kildrummie being threatened by the English forces in the north, Elizabeth, Bruce's queen, and Marjory his daughter, with the other ladies who had there taken refuge, to escape the hardships and dangers of a siege, fled to the sanctuary of St Duthac at Tain in Ross-shire. The earl of Ross violated the sanctuary, and making them prisoners, sent them into England. Certain knights and squires by whom they had been escorted, being taken at the same time, were put to death. The queen and her daughter, though doomed to experience a long captivity, appear to have been invariably treated with becoming respect. Isabella, countess of Buchan, who had signalized her patriotism on the occasion of Robert's coronation, had a fate somewhat different. Feeling repugnant to the infliction of a capital punishment, the English king had recourse to an ingenious expedient by which to satisfy his royal vengeance upon this unfortunate lady. By a particular ordinance she was ordered to be confined in a cage to be constructed in one of the towers of Berwick castle; the cage bearing in shape the resemblance of a crown; and the countess was actually kept in this miserable durance, with little relaxation of its severity, for the remainder of her life. Mary, one of Bruce's sisters, was committed to a similar custody in one of the towers of Roxburgh castle; and Christina another sister was confined in a convent.

Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, and Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, who had openly assisted and favoured Robert's cause, owed their lives solely to the inviolability of clerical character in those days. Lamberton and the abbot of Scone were committed to close custody in England. Wisheart having been seized in armour, was, in that uncanonical garb, carried a prisoner to the castle of Nottingham, where he is said to have been confined in irons. Edward earnestly solicited the pope to have these rebellious ecclesiastics deposed—a request with which his holiness does not seem to have complied.

The castle of Kildrummie was besieged by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. Being a place of considerable strength, it might have defied the English army for a length of time; had not the treachery of one of the garrison, who set fire to the magazine of grain and provisions, constrained it to surrender at discretion. Nigel Bruce, by whom the castle had been defended, was carried prisoner to Berwick; where, being tried by a special commission, he was condemned, hanged, and afterwards beheaded. This miserable fate of the king's brother, excited a deep and universal detestation among the Scots towards the unrelenting cruelty of Edward. Christopher Seton, the brother-in-law of Bruce, and Alexander Seton, suffered under a similar sentence, the one at Dumfries, and the other at Newcastle. The earl of Athole, in attempting to make his escape by sea, was discovered and conducted to London; where he underwent the complicated punishment then commonly inflicted on traitors, being hanged till only half dead, beheaded, disemboweled, "and the trunk of his body burnt to ashes before his own face." *He was not drawn*, that point of punishment being remitted. Edward, we are told, although then grievously sick, endured the pains of his disease with greater patience, after hearing of the capture of the earl of Athole. Simon Frazer of Olivar Castle, the friend and companion in arms of Wallace, being also taken at this time, suffered capitally at London; his head being placed on the point of a lance, was set near to that of his old friend and leader. Along with this brave man, was likewise executed Herbert de Norham. Among so many persons of note, others of inferior distinction did not escape; and Edward might, indeed, be said by his tyranny, to have even now effected that critical though unperceived change in popular feeling, which, only requiring commencement of action and a proper direction, would be, in its progressive energy, equal to the destruction of all his past schemes, and of all his future projects and



hopes. At all events, the effect of his extreme justice in avenging the death of Comyn, was of that kind, where, by the infliction of an unnecessary or disproportionately cruel punishment, detestation of the crime is lost sight of, in a just and natural commiseration for the criminal. That Edward's was but an assumed passion for justice, under which was cloaked a selfish and despotic vengeance, rendered it the more odious; and tended to abate the rancour of those who, on more allowable grounds, desired the ruin of the Scottish king.

To complete the measure of Robert's misfortunes, he and all his adherents were solemnly excommunicated by the pope's legate at Carlisle. The lordship of Annandale was bestowed on the earl of Hereford; the earldom of Carrick on Henry de Percy; and his English estates were disposed of in like manner. During this period Bruce, fortunately, out of the reach and knowledge of his enemies in the solitary island of Rachrin, remained ignorant of the fate of his family and friends in Scotland. Fordun relates that, in derision of his hopeless and unknown condition, a sort of ribald proclamation was made after him through the churches of Scotland, as lost, stolen, or strayed.

The approach of spring, and a seasonable supply, it is said, of money which he received from Christina of the Isles, again roused the activity of Robert and his trusty followers. Sir James Douglas, with the permission of his master, first passed over to Arran; where, shortly after his landing, he and the few men with him, surprised a party belonging to Brodick castle, in act of conveying provisions, arms, and clothing to that garrison, and succeeded in making seizure of the cargo. Here he was in a few days joined by the king, who arrived from Rachrin with a small fleet of thirty-three galleys. Having no intelligence respecting the situation or movements of the enemy, a trusty person named Cuthbert was despatched by the king to the opposite shore of Carrick, with instructions to sound the dispositions of the people; and, if the occasion seemed favourable for a descent among them, to make a signal, at a day appointed, by lighting a fire upon an eminence near the castle of Turnberry. The country, as the messenger found, was fully possessed by the English; the castle of Turnberry in the hands of Percy, and occupied by a garrison of near three hundred men; and the old vassals of Bruce dispirited or indifferent, and many of them hostile. Appearances seemed, altogether, so unfavourable, that Cuthbert, without making himself known to any person, resolved to return to the king without making the signal agreed upon.

From the dawn of the day on which he was to expect the appointed signal, Robert watched anxiously the opposite coast of Carrick, at the point from which it should become visible. He was not disappointed, for when noon had already passed, a fire was plainly discerned on the rising ground above Turnberry. Assured that this could be no other than the concerted signal of good tidings, the king gave orders for the instant embarkation of his men, who amounted to about three hundred in number. It is reported that, while the king was walking on the beach, during the preparations making for putting to sea, the woman at whose house he had lodged requested an audience of him. Pretending to a knowledge of future events, she confidently predicted that he should soon be king of Scotland; but that he must expect to encounter many difficulties and dangers in the course of the war. As a proof of her own confidence in the truth of her prediction, she sent her two sons along with him. Whether this incident was concerted by the king himself, or was simply an effect of that very singular delusion, the second sight, said to be inherent among these islanders, is of little consequence. Either way, it could not fail of impressing on the rude and superstitious minds to which it was addressed, a present reliance upon their leader, and a useful confidence in the ultimate success of his arms.

Towards evening the king and his associates put to sea; and when night closed upon them, they were enabled to direct their course across the firth by the light of the beacon, which still continued to burn on the heights of Turnberry. On landing they were met by the messenger, Cuthbert, with the unwelcome intelligence, that there was no hope of assistance from the people of Carrick. "Traitor," cried Bruce, "why made you then the fire?" "I made no signal," replied the man, "but observing a fire upon the hill, I feared that it might deceive you, and I hasted hither to warn you from the coast." In the perilous dilemma in which he found himself placed, Bruce hesitated upon what course he should adopt; but, urged by the more precipitate spirit of his brother Edward, and yielding at length to the dictates of his own more considerate valour, he resolved to persevere in the enterprise which, under such desperate and unexpected circumstances, had opened upon him.

The greater part of the English troops under Percy were carelessly cantoned in the town, situated at some little distance from the castle of Turnberry. Before morning their quarters were taken by surprise, and nearly the whole body, amounting to about two hundred men, put to the sword. Percy and his garrison heard from the castle the uproar and tumult of the night attack; but ignorant alike of the enemy and their numbers, and fearing a similar fate, they dared not attempt the rescue of their unfortunate companions. Bruce made prize of a rich booty, amongst which were his own war-horses and household plate. When the news of this bold and successful enterprise became known, a detachment of above a thousand men, under the command of Roger St John, were despatched from Ayr to the relief of Turnberry; and Robert, unable to oppose such a force, and expecting to be speedily joined by succours from Ireland, thought proper to retire into the mountainous parts of Carrick.

The king's brothers, Thomas and Alexander, had been, previously to Robert's departure from Rachrin, sent over into Ireland and the adjacent isles to procure assistance. They succeeded in collecting a force of about seven hundred men, with whom they endeavoured to effect a landing at Loch Ryan in Galloway, intending from thence to march into the neighbouring district of Carrick, and join themselves to the king's standard. They fatally miscarried, in the accomplishment of this object; Macdowal, a powerful chieftain of Galloway, having hastily collected his vassals, attacked the invading party before they had time to form, routed, and put many of them to the sword. The two brothers of the king and Sir Reginald Crawford, all of them wounded, were made prisoners; and Malcolm Mackail, lord of Kentir, and two Irish reguli or chieftains were slain. Macdowal cut off the heads of the principal persons who had fallen; and along with these bloody tokens of his triumph, presented his prisoners to king Edward, then residing at Carlisle. The two brothers and their associate, supposed by some to have been a near relation of Wallace, were ordered to immediate execution.

This disaster, coupled as it was with the insured enmity of the Gallovidians, and the near approach of the English, rendered for a time the cause of Bruce entirely hopeless, and even subjected his individual safety to the extremest hazards. His partizans either fell off or were allowed to disperse themselves for safety; while he himself often wandered alone or but slightly accompanied, among woods and morasses, relying for defence or security, sometimes on his own great personal prowess, or his intimate knowledge of that wild district, in which he had been brought up, or on the fidelity of some old attached vassal of his family. Almost all the incidents relating to Bruce, at this period of his fortunes, partake strongly of the romantic; and were it not that the authority from which they are derived, has been found to be generally correct in its other par-

ticulars, so far as these could be substantiated, some of them might well be deemed fabulous, or grossly exaggerated. The perilous circumstances in which the deserted and outlawed sovereign was placed, and his undaunted and persevering courage which none ever called in question, furnished of themselves ample scope for the realization of marvellous adventure; and which, because marvellous or exaggerated, ought not, on that account, to be altogether, or too hastily rejected. It may have been no easy task for even the contemporary historian, in that rude age, to discover the amplifications and falsities of popular statement; and, there can be no doubt, that in transmitting these statements simply, as he found them, he left the truth of more easy attainment to posterity, than would have been the case had he exercised his own critical skill in reducing them to a standard of probability and consistency. One of those adventures, said to have befallen the king at this time, is so extraordinary that we cannot omit taking notice of it.

While Robert was wandering among the fastnesses of Carrick, as has been described, after the defeat of his Irish auxiliaries at Lochryan, the numbers of his small army so reduced as not to amount to sixty men; the Gallovidians chanced to gain such intelligence of his situation, as induced them to attempt the surprisal, and, if possible, the destruction of the party. They raised, for this purpose, with great secrecy a body of more than two hundred men, and provided themselves with bloodhounds to track the fugitives through the forests and morasses. Notwithstanding the privacy of their arrangements, Bruce had notice of his danger; but knew not at what time to expect the attack of the enemy. Towards night, he withdrew his men to a position protected by a morass on the one side, and by a rivulet on the other, which had only one narrow ford, over which the enemy must needs pass. Here leaving his followers to their rest, the king, accompanied by two attendants returned to the ford in order to satisfy himself, that his retreat had not been discovered by the enemy, whom he knew to be at no great distance. After listening at this place for some time, he could at length distinguish, in the stillness which surrounded him, the distant sound of a hound's questing, or that eager yell which the animal is known to make when urged on in the pursuit of its prey. Unwilling for this cause alone, to disturb the repose of his fatigued followers, Robert determined, as it was a clear moonlight night, and the post he occupied favourable for observation, to ascertain more exactly the reality of the danger. He soon heard the voices of men urging the hound forward, and no longer doubtful but that his enemies had fallen upon the track, and would speedily be upon him, he dispatched his two attendants to warn his men of the danger. The blood-hounds, true to their instinct, led the body of Gallovidians directly to the ford where the king stood, who then hastily bethought himself of the imminent danger there was of the enemy gaining possession of this post before his men could possibly come to its defence. Should this happen, the destruction of himself and his whole party was nearly inevitable. So circumstanced, Robert boldly determined, till succour should arrive, to defend the passage of the ford, which was the more possible, as, from its narrowness, only one assailant could pass over at a time. The Galloway men coming in a body to the spot, and seeing only a solitary individual posted on the opposite side to dispute their way, the foremost of their number rode boldly into the water; but in attempting to gain the other bank of the stream, Bruce with a thrust of his spear laid him dead on the spot. The same fate awaited four of his companions, whose bodies became a sort of rampart of defence against the others; who, dismayed at so unexpected and fatal a reception, fell back for a moment in some confusion. Instantly ashamed that so many should be baffled by the individual prowess of one man, they returned furiously to the attack; but

were so valiantly met and opposed by the king, that the post was still maintained, when the loud shout of Robert's followers advancing to his rescue, warned the Gallovidians to retire, after sustaining in this unexampled combat the loss of fourteen of their men. The danger to which the king had been exposed on this occasion, and the great daring and bravery which he had manifested, sensibly roused the spirits of his party, who now began, with increasing confidence and numbers, to flock to his standard. Douglas, who had been successfully employed against the English in his own district of Douglas-dale, also about this time, joined the king with what followers he had been able to muster among the vassals of his family.

Pembroke, the guardian, at the head of a considerable body of men, now took the field against Robert; and was joined by John of Lorn, with a body of eight hundred Highlanders, men well calculated for that irregular species of warfare to which Bruce was necessitated to have recourse. Lorn is said to have had along with him a blood-hound which had once belonged to the king, and which was so strongly attached to its old master, and familiar with his scent, that if once it got upon his track it would never part from it for any other. These two armies advanced separately, Pembroke carefully keeping to the low and open country, where his cavalry could act with effect; while Lorn, by a circuitous rout, endeavoured to gain the rear of the king's party. The Highland chieftain so well succeeded in this manœuvre, that before Robert, whose attention had been wholly occupied by the forces under Pembroke, was aware of his danger, he found himself environed by two hostile bodies of troops, either of which was greatly superior to his own. In this emergency, the king, having appointed a place of rendezvous, divided his men into three companies, and ordered them to retreat as they best might, by different routes, that thus, by distracting the attention of the enemy, they might have the better chance of escape.

Lorn arriving at the place where the Scottish army had separated, set loose the blood-hound, which, falling upon the king's scent, led the pursuers immediately on the track which he had taken. The king finding himself pursued, again subdivided his remaining party into three, but without effect, for the hound still kept true to the track of its former master. The case now appearing desperate, Robert ordered the remainder of his followers to disperse themselves; and, accompanied by only one person, said to have been his foster-brother, endeavoured by this last means to frustrate the pursuit of the enemy. In this he was of course unsuccessful; and Lorn, who now saw the hound choose that direction which only two men had taken, knew certainly that one of these must be the king; and despatched five of his swiftest men after them with orders either to slay them, or delay their flight till others of the party came to their assistance. Robert, finding these men gaining hotly upon him, faced about, and, with the aid of his companion, slew them all. Lorn's men were now so close upon him that the king could perceive they were led on by means of a blood-hound. Fortunately, he and his companion had reached the near covert of a wood, situated in a valley through which ran a brook or rivulet. Taking advantage of this circumstance, by which they well knew the artifice of their pursuers would be defeated, Bruce and his foster-brother, before turning into any of the surrounding thickets for shelter, travelled in the water of the stream so far as they judged necessary to dissipate and destroy the strong scent upon which the hound had proceeded. The highland chieftain, who was straightway directed to the rivulet, along which the fugitives had diverged, here found that the hound had lost its scent; and aware of the difficulty and fruitlessness of a further search, was reluctantly compelled to quit the chase and retire. By another account, the escape of Bruce from the blood-hound is told thus: An archer

who had kept near to the king in his flight, having discovered that by means of the hound Robert's course had been invariably tracked, stole into a thicket and from thence despatched the animal with an arrow; after which he made his escape undiscovered into the wood which the king had entered.

Bruce reached in safety the rendezvous of his party, after having narrowly escaped from the treachery of three men by whom, however, his faithful companion and foster-brother was slain. The English, under the impression that the Scottish army was totally dispersed, neglected, in a great measure, the precautions necessary in their situation. Robert having intelligence of the state of security in which they lay, succeeded in surprising a body of two hundred, carelessly cantoned at some little distance from the main army, and put the greater part of them to the sword. Pembroke, shortly after, retired with his whole forces, towards the borders of England, leaving spies behind him to watch the motions of his subtle enemy. By means of these he was not long in gaining such information as led him to hope the surprisal of the king and his party. Approaching with great secrecy a certain wood in Glentruel, where Robert then lay, he was on the point of accomplishing his purpose; when the Scots happily in time discovering their danger, rushed forth unexpectedly and furiously upon their assailants and put them completely to flight. Pembroke, upon this defeat, retreated with his army to Carlisle.

Robert encouraged by these successes, and by the general panic which he saw to prevail among the enemy, now ventured down upon the low country; and was soon enabled to reduce the districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham to his obedience. Sir Philip Mowbray having been dispatched with a thousand men to make head against this rapid progress, was attacked at advantage by Douglas with so much spirit that, after a loss of sixty men, his whole force was routed, himself narrowly escaping in the pursuit.

Pembroke, by this time alarmed for the safety and credit of his government, determined again to take the field in person. Putting himself at the head of a strong body of cavalry, he advanced into Ayrshire, and came up with the army of Bruce then encamped on Loudon-hill. The Scottish king, though his forces were still greatly inferior in number, and consisted entirely of infantry, determined on the spot on which he had posted himself, to give battle to the English commander. He had selected his ground on this occasion with great judgment, and had taken care, by strongly entrenching the flanks of his position, to render as ineffectual as possible the numbers and cavalry of the enemy. His force amounted in all to about six hundred men who were entirely spearmen; that of Pembroke did not amount to less than three thousand well mounted and armed soldiery, displaying an imposing contrast to the small but unyielding mass who stood ready to oppose them. Pembroke, dividing his army into two lines or divisions, ordered the attack to be commenced; when the van, having their lances couched, advanced at full gallop to the charge. The Scots sustained the shock with determined firmness, and a desperate conflict ensuing, the English van was at length driven fairly back upon the rear or second division. This vigorous repulse decided the fortune of the day. The Scots, now the assailants, followed up closely the advantage which they had gained, and the rear of the English, panic-struck and disheartened, began to give way, and finally to retreat. The confusion and rout soon becoming general, Pembroke's whole army was put to flight; a considerable number being slain in the battle and pursuit, and many made prisoners. The loss on the part of the Scots is said to have been extremely small.

Three days after the battle of Loudon-hill, Bruce encountered Monthermur at the head of a body of English, whom he defeated with great slaughter, and

obliged to take refuge in the castle of Ayr. He, for some time, blockaded this place; but retired at the approach of succours from England. These successes, though in themselves limited, proved, in effect, of the utmost importance to Robert's cause, by conferring upon it that stability of character in men's minds which, hitherto, it had never attained. The death of Edward I., at this period, was another event which could not but favourably affect the fortunes of Scotland, at the very moment when the whole force of England was collected for its invasion. That great monarch's resentment and hatred towards Bruce and his patriotic followers did not die with him. With his last breath, he gave orders that his dead body should accompany the army in its march into Scotland, and remain unburied until that country was totally subdued. Edward II. disregarded this singular injunction, and had the body of his father more becomingly disposed of in the royal sepulchre at Westminster.

Edward II. on his accession to the throne of England soon proved himself but ill-qualified for the conduct of those great designs which his father's demise had devolved upon him. Of a weak and obstinate disposition, he was incapable of appreciating, far less of acting up to the dying counsels and injunctions of his heroic father. His utter disregard for these was, indeed, manifested in the very first act of his reign; that of recalling his unworthy favourite Piers Gaveston from exile, who with other minions of his own cast was from that moment to take the place of all the faithful and experienced ministers of the late king, and exercise a sole and unlimited sway over the weak and capricious humours of their master. Edward by this measure laid an early foundation for the disgust and alienation of his English subjects. His management in regard to Scotland was equally unpropitious. After wasting much valuable time at Dumfries and Roxburgh in receiving the homage of the Scottish barons; he advanced with his great army as far as Cumnock in Ayrshire, from whence, without striking a blow, he retreated into England, and disbanded his whole forces. A campaign so useless and inglorious, after all the mighty preparation spent upon it, could not but have a happy effect upon the rising fortunes of the Scottish patriots, while it disheartened all in Scotland who from whatever cause favoured the English interest.

The English king had no sooner retired, than Bruce invaded Galloway, and, wherever opposed, wasted the country with fire and sword. The fate of his two brothers, who had here fallen into the hands of the chieftain Macdowal, most probably influenced the king in this act of severe retribution. The Earl of Richmond, whom Edward had newly created guardian, was sent to oppose his progress, upon which Robert retired into the north of Scotland, leaving Sir James Douglas in the south, for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obedience. The king, without encountering almost any resistance, over-ran great part of the north, seizing, in his progress, the castle of Inverness and many other fortified places, which he ordered to be entirely demolished. Returning southward, he was met by the Earl of Buchan at the head of a tumultuary body of Scots and English, whom, at the first charge, he put to flight. In the course of this expedition, the king became affected with a grievous illness, which reduced his bodily and mental strength to that degree, that little hopes were entertained of his recovery. Ancient historians have attributed this malady to the effects of the cold, famine, poor lodging and hardships, to which, ever since the defeat at Methven, the king had been subjected.

Buchan, encouraged by the intelligence which he received of the king's illness, and eager to efface the dishonour of his late retreat, again assembled his numerous followers; and being joined by Mowbray, an English commander, came up with the king's forces, then strongly posted near Slaines, on the east coast of Aberdeenshire. The royalists avoided battle; and beginning to be straitened

for provisions retired in good order, first to Strathbogie, and afterwards to Inverury. By this time the violence of the king's disorder had abated, and he began by slow degrees to recover strength. Buchan, who still watched for an opportunity of attack, advanced to Old Meldrum; and Sir David Brechin, who had joined himself to his party, came upon Inverury suddenly with a detachment of troops, cut off several of the royalists in the outskirts of the town, and retired without loss. This military bravado instantly roused the dormant energies of the king; and, though too weak in body to mount on horseback without assistance, he resolved to take immediate vengeance on his insolent enemy. Supported by two men on each side of his saddle, the king took the direction of his troops, and encountering the forces of Buchan, though much superior to his own, put them to flight with great slaughter. The agitation of spirits which Robert sustained on this occasion, is said to have restored him to health. Advancing into the country of his discomfited enemy, Bruce took ample revenge of all the injuries which its possessor had inflicted upon him.

About this time the castle of Aberdeen was surprized by the citizens, the garrison put to the sword, and the fortifications razed to the foundation. A body of English having been collected for the purpose of chastising this bold exploit, they were spiritedly met on their march by the inhabitants, routed, and a considerable number taken prisoners, who were afterwards, says Boece, hanged upon gibbets around the town, as a terror to their companions. A person named Philip the Forester of Platane, having collected a small body of patriots, succeeded, about the same period, in taking the strong castle of Forfar by escalade. The English garrison were put to the sword, and the fortifications, by order of the king, destroyed. Many persons of note, who had hitherto opposed Bruce, or who, from prudential considerations, had submitted to the domination of England, now openly espoused the cause of their country. Among the rest Sir David Brechin, the king's nephew, upon the overthrow at Inverury, submitted himself to the authority of his uncle.

While Robert was thus successfully engaged in the north; his brother Edward, at the head of a considerable force, invaded Galloway. He was opposed by Sir Ingram Umphraville and Sir John de St John with about twelve hundred men. A bloody battle ensued at the water of Cree, in which the English, after sustaining severe loss, were constrained to fly. Great slaughter was made in the pursuit, and the two commanders escaped with difficulty to the castle of Butel, on the sea-coast. De St John from thence retired into England, where raising a force of fifteen hundred men, he returned with great expedition into Galloway in the hope of finding his victorious enemy unprepared for his reception. Edward Bruce, however, had notice of his movements; and with the chivalric valour or temerity which belonged to his character, he resolved boldly to over-reach the enemy in their own stratagem. Entrenching his infantry in a strong position in the line of march of the assailants; he himself, with fifty horsemen well harnessed, succeeded in gaining their rear; with the intent of falling suddenly and unexpectedly upon them so soon as his entrenched camp should be assailed. Edward was favoured in this hazardous manœuvre by a mist so thick that no object could be discerned at the distance of a bow-shot: but, before his design could be brought to bear, the vapours suddenly chasing away, left his small body fully discovered to the English. Retreat with any chance of safety was impossible, and to the reckless courage of their leader, suggested itself not. The small company no sooner became visible to their astonished and disarrayed foes, than, raising a loud shout, they rushed furiously to the attack, and after one or two more desperate charges, put them to rout. Thus successful in the field, Edward expelled the English garrisons, reduced the rebellious natives with fire and

sword, and compelled the whole district to yield submission to the authority of his brother.

Douglas, after achieving many advantages in the south, among which, the successive captures of his own castle in Douglasdale were the most remarkable, about this time, surprised and made prisoners Alexander Stewart of Bonkil and Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew. When Randolph, who from the defeat at Methven, had adhered faithfully to the English interest, was brought before his sovereign, the king is reported to have said; "Nephew, you have been an apostate for a season; you must now be reconciled." "*You require penance of me,*" replied Randolph fiercely, "yourself rather ought to do penance. Since you challenged the king of England to war, you ought to have asserted your title in the open field, and not to have betaken yourself to cowardly ambuscades." "*That may be hereafter, and perchance ere long,*" the king calmly replied; "meanwhile, it is fitting that your proud words receive due chastisement; and that you be taught to know my right and your own duty." After this rebuke, Randolph was ordered for a time into close confinement. This singular interview may have been preconcerted between the parties, for the purpose of cloak-ing under a show of constraint, Randolph's true feelings in joining the cause of his royal relative. Certain it is, his confinement was of brief duration; and in all the after acts of his life, he made evident with how hearty and zealous a devotion he had entered on his new and more honourable field of enterprise.

Shortly after the rejunction of Douglas, Bruce carried his arms into the territory of Lorn, being now able to take vengeance on the proud chieftain, who, after the defeat at Methven, had so nearly accomplished his destruction. To oppose this invasion the lord of Lorn collected a force of about two thousand men, whom he posted in ambuscade in a defile, having the high mountain of Cruachen Ben on the one side, and a precipice overhanging Lochawe on the other. This pass was so narrow in some places, as not to admit of two horsemen passing a-breast. Robert who had timely information of the manner in which this road was beset, through which he must necessarily pass, detached one half of his army, consisting entirely of light armed troops and archers, under Douglas, with orders to make a circuit of the mountain and so gain the high ground in the rear and flank of the enemy's position. He himself with the rest of his troops entered the pass, where they were soon attacked from the ambushment with great fury. This lasted not long; for the party of Douglas quickly appearing on the heights immediately above them and in their rear, the men of Lorn were cast into inevitable confusion. After annoying the enemy with repeated flights of arrows, Douglas descended the mountain and fell upon them sword in hand; the king, at the same time, pressing upon them from the pass. They were defeated with great slaughter; and John of Lorn, who had planned this unsuccessful ambush, after witnessing its miscarriage from a little distance, soon after put to sea and retired into England. Robert laid waste the whole district of Lorn; and gaining possession of Dunstaffnage, the principal place of strength belonging to the family, garrisoned it strongly with his own men.

While Bruce and his partizans were thus successfully engaged in wresting their country from the power of England, and in subduing the refractory spirit of some of their own nobility, every thing was feeble and fluctuating in the councils of their enemies. In less than a year, Edward changed or re-appointed the governors of Scotland six different times. Through the mediation of Philip king of France, a short truce was finally agreed upon between Edward and Robert; but infractions having been made on both sides, Bruce laid siege to the castle of Rutherglen. In February, 1310, a truce was once more agreed upon; notwithstanding which John de Segrave was appointed to the guardianship of Scot-



land on both sides of the Forth; and had the warlike power of the north of England placed at his disposal. It was early in the same year that the clergy of Scotland assembled in a provincial council, and issued a declaration to all the faithful, bearing, that the Scottish nation, seeing the kingdom betrayed and enslaved, had assumed Robert Bruce for their king, and that the clergy had willingly done homage to him in that character.

During these negotiations, hostilities were never entirely laid aside on either side. The advantages of the warfare, however, were invariably on the side of Bruce, who now seemed preparing to attack Perth, at that time an important fortress, and esteemed the capital of Scotland. Roused to activity by this danger, Edward made preparations for the immediate defence and succour of that place. He also appointed the Earl of Ulster to the command of a body of Irish troops who were to assemble at Dublin, and from thence invade Scotland; and the whole military array of England was ordered to meet the king at Berwick; but the English nobles disgusted with the government of Edward, and detesting his favourite Gaveston, repaired unwillingly and slowly to the royal standard. Before his preparations could be brought to bear, the season for putting to sea had passed, and Edward was obliged to countermand the forces under the Earl of Ulster; still resolving, however, to invade Scotland in person, with the large army which he had collected upon the border. Towards the end of autumn the English commenced their march, and directing their course through the forest of Selkirk to Biggar, thence are said to have penetrated as far as Henfrew. Not finding the enemy, in any body, to oppose their progress, and unable from the season of the year, aggravated, as it was, by a severe famine which at that very time afflicted the land, to procure forage and provisions, the army making no abode in those parts, retreated by the way of Linlithgow and the Lothians to Berwick; where Edward, after this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition, remained inactive for eight months. Bruce, during this invasion, cautiously avoided coming to an open engagement with the greatly superior forces of the enemy; contenting himself with sending detached parties to hang upon their rear, who, as opportunity offered, might harass or cut off the marauding and foraging parties of the English. In one of these sudden assaults the Scots put to the sword a body of three hundred of the enemy before any sufficient force could be brought up for their rescue.

About this time the castle of Linlithgow, a place of great utility to the English, as being situated midway between Stirling and Edinburgh, was surprised by the stratagem of a poor peasant named William Binnock. This man, having been employed to lead hay into the fort, placed a party of armed friends in ambush as near as possible to the gate; and concealing under his seeming load of hay, eight armed men, advanced to the castle, himself walking carelessly by the side of the wain, while a servant led the cattle in front. When the carriage was fairly in the gateway, so that neither the gates of the castle could be closed nor the portcullis let down, the person in front who had charge of the oxen cut the soam or withy rope by which the animals were attached to the wain, which thus, instantly, became stationary. Binnock, making a concerted signal, his armed friends leaped from under the hay, and mastered the sentinels; and being immediately joined by the other party in ambush, the garrison, almost without resistance, were put to the sword, and the place taken. Binnock was well rewarded by the king for this daring and successful exploit; and the castle was ordered to be demolished.

Robert, finding that his authority was now well established at home, and that Edward was almost entirely engrossed by the dissensions which had sprung up among his own subjects, resolved, by an invasion of England, to retaliate in

some measure the miseries with which that country had so long afflicted his kingdom. Assembling a considerable army, he advanced into the bishopric of Durham, laying waste the country with fire and sword; and giving up the whole district to the unbounded and reckless license of the soldiery. "Thus," says Fordun, "by the blessing of God, and by a just retribution of providence, were the perfidious English, who had despoiled and slaughtered many, in their turn subjected to punishment." Edward II. made a heavy complaint to the Pope, of the "horrible ravages, depredations, burnings, and murders" committed by "Robert Bruce and his accomplices" in this inroad, in which "neither age nor sex were spared, nor even the immunities of ecclesiastical liberty respected." The papal thunder had, however, already descended harmless on the Scottish king and his party; and the time had arrived, when the nation eagerly hoped, and the English might well dread the coming of that storm, which should avenge, by a requital alike bloody and indiscriminate, those wrongs which, without distinction, had been so mercilessly inflicted upon it.

Soon after his return from England, Robert, again drawing an army together, laid siege to Perth, a place in those days so strongly fortified, that, with a sufficient garrison, and abundance of provisions and military stores, it might bid defiance to any open force that could be brought against it. Having lain before the town for six weeks, the king seeing no prospect of being able to reduce it by main force, raised the siege, and retired to some distance, as if resolved to desist from the enterprise. He had gained intelligence, however, that the ditch which surrounded the town was fordable in one place, of which he had taken accurate notice. Having provided scaling ladders of a sufficient length, he, with a chosen body of infantry, returned after an absence of eight days, and approached the works. The self-security of the garrison, who, from hearing nothing of Robert for some days, were thrown entirely off their guard, no less than the darkness of the night, favoured his enterprise. Robert himself carrying a ladder was the foremost to enter the ditch, the water of which reached breast high, and the second to mount the walls when the ladders were applied. A French knight who at this time served under the Scottish king, having witnessed the gallant example set by his leader, is reported to have exclaimed with enthusiasm, "What shall we say of our lords of France, that with dainty living, was-sail, and revelry pass their time, when so worthy a knight, through his great chivalry, puts his life into so great hazard to win a wretched hamlet." Saying this, he, with the lively valour of his nation, threw himself into the fosse, and shared in the danger and glory of the enterprise. The walls were scaled and the town taken almost without resistance. By the king's orders quarter was given to all who laid down their arms; and in accordance with the admirable policy which he had hitherto invariably pursued, the fortifications of the place were entirely demolished.

Edward once more made advances towards negotiating a truce with the Scottish king; but Robert, who well knew the importance of following up the successful career which had opened upon him, refused to accede to his proposals, and again invaded England. In this incursion the Scottish army ravaged and plundered the county of Northumberland and bishopric of Durham. The towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and great part of the city of Durham were burnt. The army in returning, were bold enough, by a forced march, to attempt the surprisal of Berwick, where the English king then lay; but their design being discovered they were obliged to retire. So great was the terror which these predatory and destructive visitations inspired in the districts exposed to them, that the inhabitants of the county of Durham, and afterwards those of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, contributed each a sum of two thousand pounds to

purchase an immunity from the like spoliations in future. In the same year the king assaulted and took the castles of Butel, Dumfries, and Dalawinton. The strong and important fortress of Roxburgh, also, at this time fell into his hands, by the stratagem and bravery of Sir James Douglas. All of these places, so soon as taken, were, by the king's orders destroyed, that they might on no future occasion, if retaken, become serviceable to the enemy.

The surprisal of Edinburgh castle by Randolph, the king's nephew, ought not, among the stirring events of this time, to be passed over. That brave knight, who from the moment of his accession to the royal cause, had devotedly and successfully employed himself towards its establishment, had for some time laid siege to, and strictly blockaded the castle; but the place being one of great natural strength, strongly fortified, and well stored with men and provisions, there seemed little hope of bringing it to a speedy surrender. The garrison were also completely upon the alert. Having had reason to suspect the fidelity of Leland their governor, they had put him under confinement, and elected another commander in his stead. Matters stood thus, when a singular disclosure made to Randolph by a man named William Frank, suggested the possibility of taking the almost impregnable fortress by escalade. This man, in his youth, had resided in the castle as one of the garrison; and having an amorous intrigue in the city, he had been in use to descend the wall in the night, by means of a rope-ladder, and through a steep and intricate path to arrive at the foot of the rock. By the same precipitous road he had always been enabled to regain the castle without discovery; and so familiar had all its windings become to him, that he confidently engaged to guide a party of the besiegers by the same track to the bottom of the walls. Randolph resolved to undertake the enterprise. Having provided a ladder suited to the purpose, he, with thirty chosen men, put himself under the guidance of Frank, who, towards the middle of a dark night, safely conducted the party to the bottom of the precipitous ascent. Having clambered with great difficulty and exertion about half way up the rock, the adventurous party reached a broad projection or shelf, on which they rested some little time to recover breath. While in this position, they heard above them the guard or check-watch of the garrison making their rounds, and could distinguish that they paused a little on that part of the ramparts immediately over them. One of the watch throwing a stone from the wall cried out, "Away, I see you well." The stone flew over the heads of the ambuscading party, who happily remained unmoved, as they really were unseen on the comparatively safe part of the rock which they had attained. The guard hearing no stir to follow, passed on. Randolph and his men having waited till they had gone to a distance again got up, and at the imminent peril of their lives, fairly succeeded in clambering up the remaining part of the rock to the foot of the wall, to which they affixed their ladder. Frank, the guide, was first to mount the walls; Sir Andrew Gray was the next; Randolph himself was the third. Before the whole could reach the summit of the wall, the alarm was given, and the garrison rushed to arms. A fierce encounter took place; but the governor having been slain, the English surrendered themselves to mercy. The fortifications of the castle were dismantled; and Leland, the former governor, having been released from his confinement, entered the Scottish service.

The earl of Athole, who had long adhered to the English faction, and who had recently obtained as a reward for his fidelity a grant of lands in England, now joined the rising fortunes of his lawful sovereign. Through the mediation of France conferences for a truce were renewed; but notwithstanding of these Robert invaded Cumberland, wasting the country to a great extent. The Cumbrians earnestly besought succour from Edward: but that prince being about to

depart for France, did nothing but extol their fidelity, desiring them to defend themselves until his return. By invading Cumberland at this time, Bruce probably intended to draw the attention of the English from the more serious design which he contemplated of making a descent upon the isle of Man. He had scarcely, therefore, returned from his predatory expedition into England, than, embarking his forces, he landed unexpectedly upon that island, overthrew the governor, took the castle of Ruffin, and possessed himself of the country. The Manx governor on this occasion, is, with great probability, conjectured to have been the same Gallovidian chieftain, who defeated, and made prisoners at Lochryan, the two brothers of the Scottish king.

On his return from France, Edward was met by commissioners sent to him by such Scots as still remained faithful in their allegiance to England. These made bitter complaint of the miserable condition to which they had been reduced, both from the increasing power of Bruce, and from the oppression which they suffered under the government of the English ministers. Edward, deserted and despised by his nobility, who, at this time, not only refused to attend his army, but even to assemble in parliament upon his summons, could merely make answer to these complaints by promises, which he was alike incapable in himself and in his means to perform. Meanwhile the arms of the patriots continued to prosper. Edward Bruce took and destroyed the castle of Rutherglen, and the town and castle of Dundee. He next laid siege to the castle of Stirling, then held by Philip de Moubray, an English commander of bravery and reputation; but was here less successful. Unable, by any mode of attack known in those days, to make impression on a fortress of so great strength, Edward consented to a treaty with the governor that the place should be surrendered, if not succoured by the king of England before St John's day in the ensuing midsummer. Bruce was much displeased with his brother for having granted such a truce, yet he consented to ratify it. The space of time agreed upon allowed ample leisure to the English king to collect his forces for the relief of the castle, the almost only remaining stronghold which he now possessed in Scotland; and Robert felt that he must either oppose him in battle with a greatly inferior force, or, by retreating in such circumstances, lessen the great fame and advantages which he had acquired.

The English king having effected a temporary reconciliation with his refractory nobility, lost no time in making all the preparations which his great power and resources allowed of, to relieve the castle of Stirling, in the first place, and recover the almost entirely revolted kingdom to his authority. He summoned the whole power of the English barons to meet him in arms at Berwick on the 11th of June; invited to his aid Eth O'Connor, chief of the native Irish of Connaught, and twenty-six other Irish chieftains; summoned his English subjects in Ireland to attend his standard, and put both them and the Irish auxiliaries under the command of the earl of Ulster. "So vast," says Barbour, "was the army which was now collected, that nothing nearly so numerous had ever before been arrayed by England, and no force that Scotland could produce might possibly have been able to withstand it in the open field." A considerable number of ships were also ordered for the invasion of Scotland by sea, and for transporting provisions and warlike stores for the use of the army.

The Scottish king, meanwhile, used every effort in his power to provide adequately against the approaching contest, resolved resolutely to defend the honour and independence of the crown and kingdom which through so many dangers and difficulties he had achieved. He appointed a general rendezvous of his forces at the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling. The fighting men assembled in consequence of his summons, somewhat exceeded thirty thousand in num-

ber, besides about fifteen thousand unarmed and undisciplined followers of the camp, according to the mode in those times.

Two days before the battle, Bruce took up his position in a field not far from Stirling, then known by the name of New Park, which had the castle on the left, and the brook of Bannock on the right. The banks of the rivulet were steep and rugged, and the ground between it and Stirling, being part of a park or chase, was partly open, and partly broken by copse-wood and marshy ground. The place was naturally well adapted for opposing and embarrassing the operations of cavalry; and to strengthen it yet more, those places whereby horsemen might have access, were covered with concealed pit-falls, so numerous and close together, that according to our ancient authority, their construction might be likened to a honey-comb. They were a foot in width, and between two and three feet deep, many rows being placed, one behind the other, the whole being slightly covered with sods and brushwood, so as not to be obvious to an impetuous enemy. The king divided his regular forces into four divisions. Three of these occupied the intended line of battle, from the brook of Bannock, which covered his right flank, to the village of St Ninians, where their left must have remained somewhat exposed to the garrison of Stirling in their rear; Bruce, perhaps, trusting in this disposition some little to the honour of Moubray, who by the terms of the treaty was precluded from making any attack, but probably more to his real inability of giving any effectual annoyance. Edward Bruce commanded the right wing of these three divisions, which was strengthened by a strong body of cavalry under Keith, the mareschal of Scotland, to whom was committed the charge of attacking the English archers; Sir James Douglas, and the young Stewart of Scotland, led the central division; and Thomas Randolph, now earl of Moray, the left. The king himself commanded the fourth or reserve division, composed of the men of Argyle, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick. The unarmed followers of the camp, amounting, as we have said, to about fifteen thousand, were placed in a valley at some distance in the rear, separated from the field by an eminence, since denominated, it is supposed, from this circumstance, the Gillies' (that is, the servants') hill. These dispositions were made upon the 22d of June, 1314; and next day, being Sunday, the alarm reached the Scottish camp of the approach of the enemy. Sir James Douglas and the mareschal were despatched with a body of cavalry to reconnoitre the English army, then in full march from Falkirk towards Stirling. They soon returned, and, in private, informed the king of the formidable state of the enemy; but gave out publicly, that the English, though indeed a numerous host, seemed ill commanded and disorderly. The hurried march of Edward into Scotland might give some colour of truth to this information; but no sight, we are told by the ancient authors, could in reality be more glorious and animating than the advance of that great army, in which were concentrated the whole available chivalry, and all the martial pomp, which the power and riches of the English monarch could command.

Robert was particularly anxious that no succours from the English army should be allowed, previous to the engagement, to reach the garrison in Stirling castle, and enjoined Randolph, who commanded the left wing of his army, to be vigilant in repelling any attempt which might be made for that purpose. This precaution was not unsuccessful; for, as the English forces drew near, a body of eight hundred horsemen were detached under the command of Clifford, who, making a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of St Ninians, attempted by that means to pass the front of the Scottish army, and approach the castle. They were perceived by the king, who, coming hastily up to Randolph, angrily exclaimed, "Thoughtless man! you have suffered the enemy to pass

where you were set to keep the way. A rose has fallen from your chaplet." On receiving this sharp reproof, Randolph instantly made haste, at the head of a body of five hundred spearmen, to redeem his negligence, or perish in the attempt. The English cavalry, perceiving his advance, wheeled round to attack him. Randolph drew up his small body of men into a compact form, presenting a front of spears extending outwards on all sides, and with steady resolution awaited the charge of the enemy. In this porcupine-like form were they assailed on every side by the greatly superior force of Clifford's cavalry, but without effect. At the first onset a considerable number of the English were unhorsed, and Sir William Daynecourt, an officer of rank, was slain. Environed, however, as he was, there seemed no chance by which Randolph and his desperate band might escape speedy destruction. Douglas, who witnessed with deep interest the jeopardy of his friend, requested permission of the king to go and succour him. "You shall not move from your ground," said Robert; "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may. I will not for him break purpose." "In truth," replied Douglas, after a pause, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish; and, with your leave, I *must* aid him." The king unwillingly consented, and Douglas hastened to the assistance of his friend. The generous support of the good knight was not required; for, he had not advanced far when he perceived the English to waver, and fall into confusion. Ordering his followers to halt, "those brave men," said he, "have repulsed the enemy; let us not diminish their glory by sharing it." The assailants had indeed begun to flag in their fruitless efforts; when Randolph, who watched well his opportunity, ordering, in his turn, a sudden and furious charge among them, put the whole body to flight with great slaughter, sustaining on his own side a loss so small as to seem almost incredible.

While this spirited combat was yet being maintained in one part of the field, another, of a still more extraordinary and striking character, was destined to arrest the attention of both armies. The English army, which had slowly advanced in order of battle towards the Scottish position, had at length, before evening, approached so near, that the two opposing van-guards came distinctly into view of each other. Robert was then riding leisurely along the front of the Scottish line, meanly mounted on a small palfrey, having a battle axe in his hand, and distinguished from his knights by a circlet or crown of gold over his helmet, as was the manner in those days. Henry de Bohun, an English knight, completely armed, chanced to ride somewhat in advance of his companions, when recognising the Scottish king alone, and at such disadvantage, he rode furiously towards him with his spear couched, trusting surely to have unhorsed or slain him on the spot. Robert calmly awaited the encounter, avoided agily the spear of his adversary, and next instant raising himself in the stirrups, struck Bohun, as he passed, to the earth, with a blow of his battle axe, so powerfully dealt as to cleave the steel helmet of the knight, and break the handle of the axe into two. The Scots much animated by this exploit of their leader, advanced with a great shout upon the vanguard of the English, who immediately fell back in some confusion upon their main body, leaving a few of their number slain upon the field. When the Scottish army had again recovered order, some of the king's principal men gathering about him, kindly rebuked Robert for his imprudence. The king, conscious of the justice of their remarks, said nothing, but that he was sorry for the loss of his good battle axe. These two incidents falling out so opportunely upon the eve of battle, strengthened the confidence, and greatly animated the courage of the patriot army; while, in a like degree, they abashed and dispirited the proud host of the enemy.

On Monday the 24th of June, at break of day, the two armies mustered in

order of battle. The van of the English, consisting of archers and lancemen, was commanded by the earl of Gloucester, nephew of king Edward, and the earl of Hereford, constable of England. The main body, comprising nine great divisions, was led on by the king in person, attended by the earl of Pembroke and Sir Giles d'Argentine, a knight of Rhodes, and a chosen body of five hundred well-armed horse, as his body guards. The nature of the ground did not permit the extension of this vast force, the van division alone occupying the whole front of battle, so that to the Scots they appeared as composing one great compact column of men. The Scots drew up in the order which we have already described. Maurice, abbot of Inchaffrey, placing himself on an eminence in view of the whole Scottish army, celebrated high mass, the most imposing ceremony of the catholic worship, and which was then believed of efficacy to absolve all faithful and penitent assistants from the burthen of their past sins. Then passing along the line barefooted, and bearing a crucifix in his hand, he exhorted the Scots in few and forcible words to combat for their rights and their liberty; upon which the whole army knelt down and received his benediction. When king Edward observed the small and unpretending array of his hardy enemies, he seemed surprised, and turning himself to Sir Ingram Umfraville, exclaimed, "What! will yon Scotsmen fight?" "Yea, sickerly," replied the knight; who even went the length of advising the king, that instead of making an open attack under so great disadvantages of position, he should feign a retreat, pledging himself, from his own experience, that by such means only could he break the firm array of the Scots, and overwhelm them. The king disdained this counsel; and chancing then to observe the whole body of the Scots kneel themselves to the ground—"See," said he, "yon folk kneel to ask mercy." "You say truly," Sir Ingram replied, "they ask mercy, but it is not of you, but of God. Yon men will win the field or die." "Be it so, then!" said the king, and immediately gave order to sound the charge.

The signal of attack being given, the van of the English galloped on to charge the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward, the king's brother, and were received with intrepid firmness. The advance of this body allowed part of the main body of the English to come up, who moving obliquely to the right of their own van, were soon engaged with the centre and left flank of the Scottish army. The conflict, thus, soon became general along the whole Scottish line, and the slaughter considerable on both sides. Repeated and desperate attempts were made by the English cavalry to break the firm, or as they seemed immovable, phalanxes of the enemy, but with no effect. Straitened and harassed by the nature of the ground, they with difficulty maintained order; and but that they were pressed on by the mass in their rear, the front lines of the English would have been inevitably repulsed. The king of Scots perceiving that his troops were grievously annoyed by the English archers, detached a small but chosen band of cavalry under Sir Robert Keith, who, making a circuit by the right extremity of the Scottish line, fell furiously upon the unprotected archers in flank, and put them to flight. This body of men, whose importance in an English army has been so often and so fatally exemplified, both before and since, were so effectually discomfited, as to be of no after use in the battle, and by their precipitate retreat were instrumental in spreading confusion and alarm through the whole army. Robert with the body of reserve under his command now joined battle; and though the fury on both sides was not relaxed, the forces of the English were every moment falling more and more into disorder. Matters were in this critical state, when a singular accident or device, for it never has been ascertained which, turned decisively the fortune of the day. We have before stated, that the Scottish camp was attended by a large body of disorderly followers,

amounting to about fifteen thousand in number; and that these, along with the camp baggage, were stationed by Bruce to the rear of a little eminence called Gillies' hill. These men, either instructed for the purpose, or, what seems more likely, perceiving from their position that the English army began to give way, resolved with what weapons chance afforded them, to fall down into the rear of their countrymen, that by so doing they might share in the honour of the action, and the plunder of the victory. Choosing leaders, therefore, among themselves, they drew up into a sort of martial order, some mounted on the baggage horses and others on foot, having sheets fastened upon tent-poles and spears, instead of banners. The sudden and appalling spectacle of what seemed to the English in the distance, to be a new and formidable army, completed the confusion and consternation which had already begun widely to invade their ranks. The Scots felt their advantage; and raising a great shout, in which they were joined heartily by the auxiliaries in their rear, they pressed forward on the ground of their enemies with a fury which became more and more irresistible. Discipline and union were soon entirely lost, and the rout, on every side, became general and disastrous.

Pembroke, when he saw that the day was lost, seized Edward's horse by the bridle, and constrained him, though not without difficulty, to leave the field. When Sir Giles d'Argentine, the brave knight of Rhodes, was informed of the king's flight, and pressed to accompany him;—"It never was my wont to fly," said he, and putting spurs to his horse, he rushed furiously into the battle and met his death. It was a vulgar opinion, that the three greatest warriors of that age were Henry of Luxemburg emperor of Germany, Robert king of Scotland, and Sir Giles d'Argentine. Sir James Douglas, with sixty horsemen, followed hard in pursuit of the English king. At the Torwood he was met by Sir Lawrence Abernethy with twenty horse hastening to the English rendezvous, but who, as soon as he understood that the Scots were victorious, joined the party of Douglas in the pursuit. Edward rode on without halting to Linlithgow; and had scarcely refreshed himself there, when the alarm that the Scots were approaching, forced him to resume his flight. Douglas and Abernethy followed so close upon his route, that many of the king's guards, who, from time to time, had chanced to fall behind their companions, were slain. This pertinacious chase continued as far as Tranent, a distance of about forty miles from the field of battle, and was only given up from the inability of the horses to proceed further. Edward at length reached the castle of Dunbar, where he was received by the Earl of March, and shortly afterwards conveyed by a little fishing skiff to Bamborough, in England.

Thirty thousand of the English are estimated to have fallen upon the field of Bannockburn. Of barons and bannerets there were slain twenty-seven, and twenty-two were taken prisoners; and of knights the number killed was forty-two, while sixty were made prisoners. Barbour affirms that two hundred pairs of gilt spurs were taken from the heels of slain knights. According to English historians the most distinguished among those who fell, were the Earl of Gloucester, Sir Giles d'Argentine, Robert Clifford, Payen Tybelot, William le Mareschal, and Edmund de Mauley, seneschal of England. Seven hundred esquires are also reckoned among the number of the slain. The spoil of the English camp was great; and large sums also must have accrued from the ransom of so many noble prisoners. If we may believe the statement of the monk of Malmsbury, a contemporary English writer, the loss sustained by his countrymen on this occasion did not amount to less than two hundred thousand pounds; a sum equal in value to upwards of three millions of our present currency. The loss sustained by the Scots is allowed on all hands to have been very inconsiderable.



and the only persons of note slain were Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross. The last named was the particular friend of Edward Bruce, who, when informed of his death, passionately exclaimed, "Oh that this day's work was undone, so Ross had not died." On the day after the battle, Mowbray surrendered the castle of Stirling, according to the terms of the truce, and thenceforward entered into the service of the king of Scotland.

Such was the signal victory obtained by Robert at Bannockburn, than which none more important was ever fought, before or since, between the so long hostile nations of England and Scotland. It broke effectually and for ever the mastery, moral and physical, which the one had so nearly succeeded in achieving over the other; and, while it once more re-established the liberties of Scotland, awakened or restored that passion for independence among her people which no after dangers or reverses could subdue. "We have only," as a late historian<sup>1</sup> has well observed, "to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland, in order to feel the present reality of all that we owe to the victory at Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas."

We have, hitherto, thought it proper to enter with considerable, and even historical, minuteness into the details of this life; both as comprising events of much interest to the general reader, and as introducing what may be justly called the first great epoch in the modern history of Scotland. The rise, progress, and establishment of Bruce, were intimately connected with the elevation, progression, and settled estate of his people, who as they never before had attained to a national importance so decided and unquestionable, so they never afterwards fell much short in the maintaining of it. It is not our intention, however, to record with equal minuteness the remaining events of king Robert's reign; which, as they, in a great measure, refer to the ordering and consolidating of the power which he had acquired, the framing of laws, and negotiating of treaties, fall much more properly within the province of the historian to discuss, than that of the biographer.

The Earl of Hereford, who had retreated after the battle to the castle of Bothwell, was there besieged and soon brought to surrender. For this prisoner alone, the wife, sister, and daughter of Bruce, were exchanged by the English, along with Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, and the young Earl of Marr. Edward Bruce and Douglas, leaving the English no time to recover from their disastrous defeat, almost immediately invaded the eastern marches, wasted Northumberland, and laid the bishopric of Durham under contribution. Proceeding westward, they burnt Appleby and other towns, and returned home loaded with spoil. "So bereaved," says an English historian, "were the English, at this time, of their wonted intrepidity, that a hundred of that nation would have fled from two or three Scotsmen." While the fortunes of Edward were in this state of depression, Bruce made advances towards the negotiating of a peace, but this war, now so ruinous on the part of the English, was yet far from a termination. Robert, however desirous he might be to attain such an object, was incapable of granting unworthy concessions; and Edward was not yet sufficiently abased by his ill-fortune in war, or borne down by factions at home, to yield that which, in his hands, had become but a nominal possession. England was again invaded within the year; and, during the winter, the Scots continued to infest and threaten the borders with predatory incursions.

In the spring of the ensuing year, 1315, while the English king vainly endeavoured to assemble an army, the Scots again broke into England, penetrated to the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the sea-port town of Hartlepool. An

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, i. p. 320.

attempt was shortly afterwards made to gain possession of Carlisle, but it was defeated by the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants. A scheme to carry Berwick by surprise also failed. This year was remarkable for an act of the estates settling the succession to the crown; and the marriage of the king's daughter, Marjory, to Walter the Stewart of Scotland, from whom afterwards descended the royal family of the Stuarts.

The Irish of Ulster, who had long been discontented with the rule of England, now implored the assistance of the Scottish king, offering, that should they be relieved from the subjugation under which they laboured, to elect Edward Bruce as their sovereign. The king accepted of their proposals; and his brother, on the 25th May, 1315, landed at Carrickfergus in the north of Ireland with an army of six thousand men. He was accompanied in the expedition by the Earl of Moray, Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Soules, Fergus of Ardrossan, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse. With the aid of the Irish chieftains who flocked to his standard, he committed great ravages on the possessions of the English settlers in the north; and over-ran great part of the country. Edward Bruce met, however, with considerable difficulties in the prosecution of his enterprise, and had several times to send for reinforcements from Scotland, notwithstanding which, he was solemnly crowned king of Ireland on the 2nd May, 1316. King Robert, hearing of his difficulties, magnanimously resolved, with what succours he could afford, to go to the relief of his brother in person. Intrusting, therefore, the government of the kingdom, in his absence, to the Stewart and Douglas, he embarked at Lochryan, in Galloway, and landed at Carrickfergus. The castle of that place was, at the time, besieged by the forces of Edward Bruce, and was soon brought to surrender after his junction with his brother. The united armies then entered, by forced marches, the province of Leinster, with intent to seize upon Dublin, on the fate of which the existence of the English government in Ireland depended; but the hostile spirit and intrepidity of the inhabitants of that city rendered this effort abortive. Thence they marched to Cullen in Kilkenny, and continued their devastating progress as far as Limerick; but being there threatened with the greatly superior forces collected by the English under Roger, Lord Mortimer, and experiencing great extremities from want, they were forced to terminate the expedition by a retreat into the province of Ulster, in the spring of 1317.

The particular history of the two Bruce's campaigns in Ireland, seems to have been imperfectly known, and is very obscurely treated of by most contemporary writers. Barbour, however, to whom the historians who treat of this period are so much indebted, has given the relation with much circumstantiality and apparent correctness. We cannot omit quoting one exploit, which this author has recorded in a manner at once lively and characteristical. The Scottish army, in its march into the province of Leinster, was marshalled into two divisions, one of which, the van, was commanded by Edward Bruce; while the rear was led by Robert in person, assisted by the Earl of Moray. The Earl of Ulster, on the alert to oppose their progress, had collected an army of forty thousand men, which he posted in an extensive forest through which the Scottish line of march led, proposing from this concealment, to attack the rear division of the enemy, after the van should have passed the defile. Edward, naturally impetuous and unguarded, hurried onward in his march, neglecting even the ordinary precautions of keeping up a communication with the rear body, or of reconnoitring the ground through which he passed. Robert advanced more slowly and with circumspection, at some distance in the rear, with his division, which amounted in all to no more than five thousand men. As he approached the ambushmen of the enemy, small parties of archers appeared from among the thickets, who

commenced, as they best could, to molest his soldiers in their march. Seeing their boldness, the king judged rightly that they must have support at no great distance, and immediately he issued strict commands to his men to march in exact order of battle, and on no pretence whatever to quit their ranks. It happened that two of these archers discharged their arrows near to the person of Sir Colir Campbell, the king's nephew, which irritated him so much, that, neglecting the king's injunctions, he rode off at full speed to avenge the insult. Robert, highly incensed, followed after him, and struck his nephew so violent a blow with his truncheon that he was nearly beaten from his horse. "Such breach of orders," said he, "might have brought us all into jeopardy. I wot well, we shall have work to do ere long." The numbers of the hostile archers increased as the Scots advanced; till arriving at a large opening or glade of the forest, they descried the forces of the Earl of Ulster drawn up in four divisions ready to dispute their passage. The king's prudential foresight was now fully justified; and, though the danger was imminent, so much confidence had the soldiers in the sagacity and martial pre-eminence of their leader, that, undaunted either by the sudden appearance or overwhelming numbers of the enemy, they, with great spirit and bravery, were the first to commence the attack. After an obstinate resistance the Scots prevailed, and the great but ill-assorted Anglo-Irish army was, with much slaughter, driven from the field. Edward Bruce, soon after the defeat, rejoined his brother, regretting bitterly that he should have been absent on such an emergency. "It was owing to your own folly," said the king, "for you ought to have remembered that the van always should protect the rear."

King Robert, after the retreat of his brother's force upon Carrickfergus, was necessitated, from the urgency of his own affairs, to return to Scotland. We may, in order to have no occasion to revert to the subject afterwards, state briefly in this place, the catastrophe which, in the following year, closed the career of Scottish sovereignty in Ireland. For some time the gallant but rash Edward maintained a precarious authority in Ulster. In the month of October, 1318, he lay encamped at Fagher, near Dundalk, with an army amounting to about two thousand men, exclusive of the native Irish, who, though numerous, were not much to be depended on. The Anglo-Irish approached his position under the command of Lord John Bermingham. Their force was strong in cavalry, and out-numbered the Scots by nearly ten to one. Contrary to the counsel of all his officers, Edward engaged with the enemy; and was slain almost at the first onset; an event which was speedily followed up by the total discomfiture of his army. John Maupas, by whose hand Edward fell, was found, after the battle, stretched dead over the body of the prince. Edward of England, like all kings who are weak and obstinate, could also, when he dared, be wicked. Affecting to consider the gallant enemy who now had fallen, in the light of a traitor or rebellious subject, the corpse was subjected to the ignominies consequent upon the punishment of such; being quartered and exposed to view in four different quarters of the island. The head was carried over to England, and presented to Edward by Bermingham himself; who obtained the dignity of Earl of Lowth for his services.

During the absence of king Robert in Ireland, the English made various attempts to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland, which all, happily, proved abortive. The Earl of Arundel, with a numerous force, invaded the forest of Jedburgh; but falling into an ambush prepared for him by Douglas, he was defeated. Edmund de Cailand, the governor of Berwick, having made an inroad into Teviotdale, was attacked by the same victorious commander, and himself and many of his followers slain. The same fate befell Robert Neville a knight, then

resident at Berwick, who had boastingly declared that he would encounter Douglas, so soon as he dared display his banner in that neighbourhood. The English also invaded Scotland with a considerable force by sea, coming to anchor off the town of Inverkeithing in the Firth of Forth. The panic caused by the unexpected appearance of this armament was great; and only five hundred men under the command of the Earl of Fife, and sheriff of the county, were mustered to oppose their landing. When the English, with somewhat of the revived intrepidity of their nation, proceeded boldly to shore, so much terror did they inspire, that, without any attempt at hindrance, the force drawn up against them hastily retreated towards the interior. They had scarcely, however, thus committed themselves, when they were met by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, at the head of a body of sixty horse advancing, in all haste, to assist in repelling the invaders. "Whither in such haste?" said he, to the disordered rout, "you deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off." Putting himself then at the head of the little troop, casting aside his bishop's vestment, and seizing a spear, the bold ecclesiastic continued—"Who loves his king, or his country, turn with me." The unexpectedness and spirit of this challenge redeemed the honour and the courage of all who heard it. The English, who had not yet completed their landing, were in turn seized with the panic they themselves had communicated; and were driven to their ships with great loss. Five hundred, it is asserted, were killed upon the strand, and many drowned by the swamping of an overloaded boat. When king Robert was informed of the particulars of this gallant exploit, he said, "Sinclair shall always after be my own bishop;" and long after was the prelate honourably remembered by his countrymen by the appellation of *the king's bishop*.

Baffled in these attempts, and under serious apprehensions for the safety of Berwick and his own borders, the English king contrived, about this time, to employ in his favour the spiritual weapons of the church of Rome. John XXII, the then pope, was easily induced to hearken to his representations; and a bull was issued commanding a truce for two years between the two hostile kingdoms, under pain of excommunication. Two cardinals, privately instructed to denounce the pontifical censures, should they see fit, upon Bruce and "whomsoever else," were despatched to make known these commands to the two kings. The cardinals arrived in England, and in prosecution of their errand they sent two messengers, the bishop of Corbeil and Master Aumery, into Scotland with the letters and instructions intended for the Scottish king. Robert listened to the message delivered by these nuncios with attention, and heard read the open letters from the Pope; but when those sealed and addressed 'Robert Bruce, governor of Scotland,' were produced, he firmly declined receiving them. "Among my barons," said he, "there are many of the name of Robert Bruce, who share in the government of Scotland. These letters may possibly be addressed to one of them; but they are not addressed to *me*, who am king of Scotland." The messengers attempted to apologise for this omission, by saying, that "the holy church was not wont, during the dependence of a controversy, to say or do aught which might prejudice the claims of either contending party." "Since then," replied the king, "my spiritual father and my holy mother would not prejudice the cause of my adversary by bestowing on me the title of king during the dependence of the controversy, they ought not to have prejudiced my cause by withdrawing that title from me. It seems that my parents are partial to their English son. Had you," added he, with resolute but calm dignity, "presumed to present letters with such an address to any other sovereign prince, you might, perhaps, have been answered more harshly; but I reverence you as the messengers of the holy see." In

consequence of the failure of this negotiation, the cardinals resolved to proceed with their further instructions, and proclaim the papal truce in Scotland.

In an enterprise so hazardous the Roman legates were at some loss how to proceed; but at length they fell upon a devoted monk of the name of Adam Newton, who was willing to risk himself in the service. Newton being fully charged with his commission, and intrusted with letters to some of the Scottish clergy, proceeded forthwith upon his journey. He found the Scottish king encamped with his army in a wood near Old Cambus, busily engaged in making preparations for the assault of Berwick. He was denied admission to the presence, but ordered, at the same time, to deliver what letters or messages he might have to the king's seneschal or clerk. These were quickly returned to him, unopened, with the brief verbal answer, "I will listen to no bulls until I am treated as king of Scotland, and have made myself master of Berwick." The poor monk, environed, as he himself expresses it, with danger, and troubled how to preserve his papers and his own mortal life, earnestly entreated that he might have a safe conduct granted him to pass further into Scotland, or at least that he might return without peril to Berwick; but both requests were denied him, and he was ordered to leave the country without delay. On his road to Berwick, he was encountered by four armed ruffians, who stripped him of all his papers and effects, and even of the greater part of his clothes. Thus ended this memorable transaction with the papal court, in a manner very unusual for that age; but the weakness and injustice of Edward, and the injustice and servility of Rome were so obvious in it, that Robert secure, otherwise, in the affections of his subjects, both clerical and laical, could safely deride and defy the effects of both.

While Robert, for some reason or other which has not been explained, had given over the preparations he had been engaged in for the siege of Berwick, the treachery of one of the inhabitants, of the name of Spalding, who had been harshly treated by the governor, occurred to render the attainment of his object more easy and sure, than otherwise, in all likelihood, it would have proved. This person wrote a letter to the Earl of March, to whom he was distantly connected by marriage, in which he offered to betray, on a certain night, that post on the wall where he kept guard. The nobleman, not daring of himself to engage in such an enterprise, communicated the intelligence to the king. "You have done well," said Robert, "in making me your confidant; for, if you had told this to either Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust. You shall now, however, have the aid of both." By the king's directions, the Earl of March assembled his troops at a certain place, where, on an appointed day and hour, he was joined by the forces of Randolph and Douglas. Thus cautiously assembled, the army by a night march approached the town. Having reached the appointed part of the walls, near to that place still known by the name of the Cowport, they, with the assistance of Spalding, scaled the walls, and were, in a few hours, masters of the town. The castle, after a brief siege, in which the king assisted in person, was forced to surrender. Scotland, by this event, was at length wholly regained to its ancient sovereignty; and, though the place was in an after reign retaken by the English, so pertinaciously was the old right to it maintained at the union of the two kingdoms, that, as a compromise of the difference, it was legislatively allowed to belong to neither kingdom, and it still forms a distinct and independent portion of the British dominions.

The Scottish army, after the reduction of Berwick, invaded England by Northumberland; took by siege the castles of Werk and Harbolth, and that of Miford by surprise. These events occurred in the spring of 1318. In May of the same year, the Scots penetrated into Yorkshire, and in their devastating pro-

gress burned the towns of Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton; returning home loaded with spoil, and, says an English author, "driving their prisoners before them like flocks of sheep." Bruce was, at this time, solemnly excommunicated by the pope's legate in England; but so little was this sentence regarded, that, in a parliament which was assembled at Scone, the whole clergy and laity of the kingdom renewed their allegiance to the king; and by a memorable mode of expression, by which, doubtless, they meant to include the pope, as well as the king of England, solemnly engaged, to protect the rights and liberties of Scotland against all mortals, *however eminent they may be in power, authority, and dignity.*

Edward of England, having effected a temporary reconciliation of the discordant factions of his kingdom, was enabled, in the succeeding year, to collect a considerable army for the purpose of retaking the town and citadel of Berwick. The place had been left by Robert under the command of the Stewart, with a strong garrison, and was plentifully stored with provisions. To prevent the approach of succours to the place, the English drew lines of countervallation round it; and confident in their numbers, commenced a general and vigorous assault. After a long and desperate contest they were repulsed. They next made their attacks more systematically on various places, and often simultaneously, aided by engines and contrivances which are curiously and minutely described by ancient historians; but these attempts admirably conducted as they were, according to the engineering science of that day, seconded by the bravery of the assailants, proved abortive. One of those engines used by the English upon this occasion, was called a *sow*. As nearly as can be ascertained, it was a huge fabric, reaching in height above the top of the wall, and composed of beams of timber, well roofed, having stages within it. It moved upon wheels, and was calculated for the double purpose of conducting miners to the foot of the wall, and armed men for scaling it. To oppose this and other such machines, the Scots, under the direction of one John Crab a Fleming, had provided themselves with movable engines called cranes, similar to the catapultæ of the ancients, capable of throwing large stones with great projectile force. As the sow advanced, however, great fears were entertained by the besieged. The engineer, by whom the monstrous piece of work had been constructed, had, meantime, become a prisoner in the hands of the Scots; who, actuated by a very unjust revenge upon the man's unlucky ingenuity, and upon their own fears, brought him to that part of the wall against which the engine was directed, threatening with instant death any remissness he should show in his efforts towards its destruction. The engineer caused one of the cranes formerly mentioned to be placed directly opposite to the approaching machine of the enemy, and prepared to work it with all his art. The first stone, launched with prodigious force, flew beyond the object at which it was directed; the second, aimed with an opposite incorrectness, fell within the mark. There was time only for a third trial, upon the success of which all seemed to depend; for the English, aware that their safety lay in getting under or within the range of the catapult, strained every nerve to advance, and were now within very little of accomplishing their purpose. The third great stone passed in an oblique and nearly perpendicular line, high into the air, making a loud whizzing noise as it rose, and whether owing to chance or art, it was so happily directed, as to fall with a dreadful crash upon the devoted machine now so nearly within reach of its destination. The terrified men within, instantly rushed from beneath their cover; and the besieged upon the walls, raising a loud shout, called out to them, "that their great sow had farrowed her pigs." Grappling irons were quickly fastened upon the shattered apparatus, and it was set on fire. While all this was transacting upon the land side of Berwick, its reduced and worn out garrison

had to sustain an assault, no less desperate, on that part towards the river or estuary; where, by means of vessels of a peculiar construction, having falling bridges mid-mast high, by which to reach the top of the walls, the city was vigorously, and almost successfully stormed. These, and various other desperate attempts, seemed in no way to exhaust the ardour of the besiegers; and they did not lessen, though they tempered, the confidence of the besieged.

King Robert, unable from the strength and fortified position of the English army, to render any direct assistance to the beleagured garrison, at the same time saw, that if the Stewart were not shortly relieved he must be brought to a speedy surrender. In this emergency he resolved, by a destructive invasion of England, to make a diversion in his favour, and, if possible, draw off the forces of Edward from the siege. This expedition was committed to the charge of Randolph and Douglas, who, entering England by the western marches, penetrated into Yorkshire. It is asserted, that they entertained some scheme of carrying off the wife of Edward from her residence near York. Disappointed in this, they wasted that rich province, far and near, with fire and sword. The archbishop hastily collected a numerous but ill-assorted army, great part of which is said to have been composed of ecclesiastics, and placing himself at their head, determined to check the progress of the invading enemy. The Scots then lay encamped at Milton, near Boroughbridge, in the north riding of Yorkshire. The English, on coming up with that hardy, disciplined, and successful army, were charged with so great rapidity and fury, that, scarcely waiting to strike a blow, they gave way in the utmost disorder, and three thousand are reported to have been slain in the rout. From the great numbers of churchmen who fell in this battle, it came, from a sort of humour of the times, to be popularly distinguished by the name of *the Chapter of Milton*.

The effects which Robert expected from this invasion of England were not miscalculated. The news of the devastations and successes of the Scots no sooner reached Berwick, than they caused concern in all, and much diversity of opinion among the English commanders. A retreat was finally resolved upon; and it would seem injudiciously, as, had the now unopposed career of the Scots continued many days longer, the damage to England must have been immeasurably great. On retiring from before Berwick, Edward attempted, unsuccessfully, to intercept Douglas and Randolph on their return. After some brief negotiations a truce of two years was concluded between the two nations.

The following year, 1320, was remarkable for a bold and spirited manifesto, transmitted by the estates of the kingdom to the pope, displaying in a remarkable degree, that genuine earnestness and acuteness of style, which can alone spring from a sincere and lively conviction in the writer. His Holiness is told, in one part of this singular document, that Robert, "like another Joshua, or a Judas Maccabeus, gladly endured toils, distresses, the extremities of want, and every peril, to rescue his people and inheritance out of the hands of the enemy. Our due and unanimous consent," say they, "have made him our chief and king. To him in defence of our liberty we are bound to adhere, as well of right, as by reason of his deserts, and to him we will in all things adhere; for through him salvation has been wrought unto our people. Should he abandon our cause, or aim at reducing us and our kingdom under the dominion of the English, we will instantly strive to expel him as a public enemy, and the subverter of our rights and his own, and we will choose another king to rule and protect us; for, while there exist an hundred of us, we will never submit to England. We fight not for glory, wealth, or honour, but for that liberty which no virtuous man will survive." After describing with much animation the English king's ambition and injustice, and praying the interposition of his holiness, the manifesto proceeds:—

"Should you, however, give a too credulous ear to the reports of our enemies, distrust the sincerity of our professions, and persist in favouring the English, to our destruction, we hold you guilty in the sight of the most high God, of the loss of lives, the perdition of souls, and all the other miserable consequences which may ensue from war between the two contending nations." The pope, however much he may have been incensed at the boldness of this address, appears also to have been alarmed. In a bull which he shortly afterwards sent to Edward, he strongly recommends pacific measures, and bestows upon Bruce the ambiguous title of "Regent of the kingdom of Scotland."

The parliament which distinguished itself by this spirited and honourable measure was, in the course of its sitting, engaged in one of a more unpleasing character. This was the investigation of a conspiracy in which some of the highest men in the kingdom were implicated. The affair is now, from the loss of records, but indistinctly understood. After a trial of the conspirators, Soulia, and the countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Gilbert de Malerb, and John de Logie, both knights, and Richard Brown, an esquire, were found guilty of treason and suffered accordingly. Roger de Moubray died before sentence; yet, according to a practice long retained in Scottish law in cases of treason, judgment was pronounced upon the dead body. The king, however, was pleased to mitigate this rigour, and he was allowed the honours of sepulture. The fate of David de Brechin, the king's nephew, who suffered on this occasion, excited universal and deep compassion. His crime alone lay in the concealing of the treason, which was communicated to him under an oath of secrecy. He had neither approved of, nor participated in it; yet notwithstanding these alleviations, and his near relationship to the king, he was made an example of rigorous, though impartial justice. This parliament was, in reference to this transaction, long remembered popularly under the appellation of the *black parliament*.

During the inactive period of the truce, various methods were used towards effecting a peace between England and Scotland, but without effect. The pope as well as the French king offered their services for this purpose; but the exultation in which Edward then was, from having successfully crushed the Lancasterian faction which had so long disturbed his personal peace and government, permitted him not to give ear to any moderate counsels whatever. "Give yourself," says he to the pope, "no further solicitude about a truce with the Scots. The exigencies of my affairs inclined me formerly to listen to such proposals; but now I am resolved to establish peace by force of arms." While he was engaged in these preparations, the Scots penetrated by the western marches into Lancashire, committing their wonted devastations, and returned home loaded with spoil. The king of Scots, who, at this time found no occasion for a general engagement with his greatly superior enemy, fell upon a simple and effectual expedient to render such an event unlikely, if not impossible. All the cattle and provisions of the Merse, Tiviotdale, and the Lothians, he ordered to be removed into inaccessible or secure places; an order which was so exactly executed, that according to tradition, the only prey which fell into the hands of the English was one solitary bull at Tranent, which, from lameness, had been unable to travel along with the other cattle. "Is that all ye have got?" said the earl Warenne to the spoilers as they returned to the camp; "I never saw so dear a beast." Edward advanced without opposition to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where having in vain waited for some time for supplies from his fleet, he was necessitated, from absolute famine, to retire. In their countermarch into England, the soldiers committed whatever outrages were possible in so desolate a rout. Their license even got the better of their superstition. Monks, who believed that the



sanctity of their character would have protected them, were wantonly murdered, and their monasteries and abbeys plundered and burned. When this unfortunate army got once more into the peace and plenty of their own country, it was little better with them; for, in proportion as their privations had been extreme, so, now, were their indulgences excessive; and an English historian has left it on record, that almost one half of the great army which Edward had led into Scotland, was destroyed either by hunger or intemperance.

The remains of the English army had scarcely once more been restored to order, when the Scots, who had followed closely upon their rear, entered England, and laid siege to the castle of Norham. Edward, himself, then lay at the abbey of Biland in Yorkshire; the main body of his troops being encamped in a strong position in the neighbourhood, supposed to be accessible only by one narrow pass. The Scots, commanded by Robert in person, suddenly raising the siege, marched onward in the hope of finding the English unprepared, or, as some say, of seizing the person of Edward, by the aid of some of that monarch's treacherous attendants. This latter design, if at all entertained, which is not improbable, must have been found of too difficult execution. Douglas resolved to force the defile within which the English had entrenched themselves; and Randolph, leaving his own peculiar command in the army, determined to join his friend in the enterprise. The attack and defence continued obstinate and bloody on both sides, but, in every likelihood, the men of Douglas must have been obliged to retire, had not an unexpected aid come to their relief. The king of Scots, who commanded the main and inactive body of his army on the plain, had soon perceived the difficulty, if not impracticability of the adventure in which his two brave generals had engaged themselves. With the same bold and accurate forecast, which on some other occasions marked his generalship, he fell upon the only, because in a great measure well-timed, means of extrication and success which his situation afforded. Between the two armies lay a long craggy hill of very difficult access, except through the narrow pass of which we have made mention, and which the body of men under Douglas were vainly endeavouring to force. A party of Highlanders from Argyll and the Isles, admirably suited for the service, were ordered, at some little distance, to scale the eminences and so gain command of the pass from the ground above, where they might, with signal effect, annoy the English underneath, and in flank. The manœuvre was successfully executed, the pass carried, and the whole English army shortly after put to complete rout. They were pursued by the Stewart at the head of five hundred men, to the gates of York. Edward, himself, escaped to the same place with the greatest difficulty, abandoning all his baggage and treasure to the enemy, leaving behind him even the privy seal of his kingdom. This was the last battle in which this undeserving and equally unfortunate prince engaged the Scots; and it may be curious to remark how, in its result, it bore some resemblance to the disaster and shame of the first. The Scots, after committing extensive devastations on the unprotected and dispirited country, returned home, carrying along with them many prisoners, and an immense booty.

From this period to the accession of Edward III. to the throne of England in 1327, there occurred little which can properly come within our province to relate. A truce for fifteen years was with much willingness acceded to by the English king, who could never, however, be induced to relinquish his claim of sovereignty over Scotland. The pope was much pressed, particularly in an embassy conducted by Randolph, to permit the reconciliation of Robert with the church; but the king of Scots, as yet, possessed too little interest in that venal court, and the king of England too much, to allow of such a concession. The pontiff, however, showed all the favour he could possibly, consistent with such a

denial; and though pressed by Edward, under various pretences, to renew the publication of his former censures, could by no means be induced to comply. The king of France was more honourable and just, though, probably at the same time, politic, and concluded, in 1326, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Scotland.

On the accession of Edward III., hostilities almost immediately re-commenced between the two kingdoms. That these originated on the side of the Scots seems generally allowed; but the motives which led to them are now only matter of conjecture. One historian assigns as the cause, that the Scots had detected the general bad faith of the English. According to Barbour, the ships of that nation had seized upon several Scottish ships bound for the low countries, slain the mariners, and refused to give satisfaction. That the king of Scotland, during the then weak state of the councils of England, had determined to insist upon the full recognition of his title, seems to have been, from the decisiveness of his preparations, the true, or more important, motive of the war. The campaign which followed, though, perhaps, as curious and interesting as any which occurred during these long wars, cannot be entered upon in this place, at length sufficient to render it instructive; and it much more properly falls to be described in the lives of those two great generals, Randolph and Douglas, by whom it was conducted. The enterprise, on the part of England, was productive of enormous expense to that kingdom; and it terminated not only without advantage, but without honour.

The so long desired peace between the two kingdoms was now near at hand. To attain this had been the grand and constant aim of all king Robert's policy; and the court of England seemed, at length, persuaded of the immediate necessity of a measure, the expediency of which could not but have long appeared obvious. A negotiation was therefore entered into, and brought to a happy issue in a parliament held at Northampton in April, 1328. The principal articles were the recognition of king Robert's titles; the independent sovereignty of the kingdom; and the marriage of Johanna, king Edward's sister, to David, the son and heir of the king of Scots.

Robert survived not long this consummation of his political life. He had for some time laboured under an inveterate distemper, in those days called a leprosy; a consequence of the fatigues, hardships, and sufferings which, to such an unparalleled degree, he had endured in the early part of his career. It was probably the same disease as that with which he was afflicted prior to the battle of Inverury; but though, at that time, the ardour of youth and enterprise, and a naturally powerful constitution, had triumphed over its malignity, Robert seemed now fully aware that it must prove mortal. The two last years of his life were spent in comparative seclusion, in a castle at Cardross, situated on the northern shore of the firth of Clyde; where, from documents still extant, Robert passed these few peaceful, though embittered days of his life, in a style of munificence every way becoming his high station. Much of his time was devoted to the construction of ships; and whether he himself joined personally in such amusements or not, the expense of aquatic and fishing excursions, hawking, and other sports, appears to have formed a considerable item of his domestic disbursements. From the same authentic source, it is pleasing to observe, that his charities to the poor were regular and befitting.

Robert the First of Scotland died in this retirement, on the 7th day of June, 1329, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third year of his reign. Prior to this event a remarkable and affecting scene is recorded to have taken place between the dying monarch and several of his esteemed counsellors and companions in arms. Having spoke to these, generally, upon matters connected with the

ordering and well-being of his kingdom, Robert called Sir James Douglas to his couch, and addressed him in somewhat the following manner :—" Sir James, my dear and gallant friend, you know well the many troubles and severe hardships I have undergone in recovering and defending the rights of my crown and people, for you have participated in them all. When I was hardest beset of all, I made a vow, that if I ever overcame my difficulties, I would assume the cross, and devote the remainder of my days to warring against the enemies of our Lord and Saviour. But it has pleased providence, by this heavy malady, to take from me all hope of accomplishing, what, in my heart and soul, I have earnestly desired. Therefore, my dear and faithful companion, knowing no knight more valiant, or better fitted than yourself for such a service, my earnest desire is, that when I am dead, you take my heart with you to Jerusalem, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre, that my soul may be so acquitted from the vow which my body is unable to fulfil." All present shed tears at this discourse. " My gallant and noble king," said Douglas, " I have greatly to thank you for the many and large bounties which you have bestowed upon me; but chiefly, and above all, I am thankful, that you consider me worthy to be intrusted with this precious charge of your heart, which has ever been full of prowess and goodness; and I shall most loyally perform this last service, if God grant me life and power." The king tenderly thanked him for his love and fidelity, saying, " I shall now die in peace." Immediately after Robert's decease, his heart was taken out, as he had enjoined, and the body deposited under a rich marble monument, in the choir of the Abbey church of Dunfermline.

So died that heroic, and no less patriotic monarch, to whom the people of Scotland, in succeeding ages, have looked back with a degree of national pride and affection, which it has been the lot of few men in any age or country to inspire. From a state of profligate degeneracy and lawless barbarity, originating in, and aggravated by, a foreign dominion and oppression, he raised the poor kingdom of Scotland to a greater degree of power and security than it had ever before attained; and by a wise system of laws and regulations, forming, in fact, the constitution of the popular rights and liberties, secured to posterity the benefit of all the great blessings which his arms and policy had achieved.

BRUCE, ROBERT, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, a collateral relation of the sovereign who bore the same name, and ancestor at the sixth remove of the illustrious Abyssinian traveller, was born about the year 1554, being the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth in Stirlingshire, by Janet, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston, and Agnes, daughter of the second Earl of Morton. We learn from Birrel's Diary, a curious chronicle of the sixteenth century, that Sir Alexander, the father of this pious divine, was one of those powerful Scottish barons, who used to be always attended by a retinue of armed servants, and did not scruple, even in the streets of the capital, to attack any equally powerful baron with whom they were at feud, and whom they might chance to meet. Birrel tells us, for instance, that on " the 24th of November, 1567, at two in the afternoon, the laird of Airth and the laird of Weems [ancestor of the Earl of Wemyss] mett upon the heigh gait of Edinburgh [the High Street], and they and thair followers faught a *verey bloody skirmish*, wher ther wes maney hurte on both sydes by shote of pistole." The father of the subject of this memoir was descended from a cadet of the Bruces of Clackmannan, who, in the reign of James I. of Scotland, had married the eldest daughter of William de Airthe, and succeeded to the inheritance. The Bruces of Clackmannan, from whom, we believe, all the Bruces of Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, Kinross, &c., (including the Earl of Elgin,) are descended, sprung from a younger son of Robert de Bruce, the competitor with Baliol for the Scottish throne, and

therefore uncle to King Robert. The reader may perhaps remember the proud saying of the last Lady of Clackmannan, who, on being complimented by Robert Burns as belonging to the family of the Scottish hero, informed the poet, that King Robert belonged to her family: it will be seen from our present statement that the old lady made a slight mistake.

While the eldest son of Sir Alexander Bruce was designed to inherit the property of Airth, a comparatively small appanage, consisting of the lands of Kin-naird, was appropriated to Robert; but to eke out his provision for life, he was devoted, like many other cadets of Scottish families, to the profession of the law. With a view to qualify him for the bar, he was sent to Paris, where he studied the principles of Roman jurisprudence under the most approved masters. Afterwards returning to his native country, he completed his studies at Edinburgh, and began to conduct his father's business before the Court of Session. That court was then, like the other parts of government, corrupt and disordered; the judges were court partizans; and justice was too often dispensed upon the principles of an auction. Young Bruce, whose mind was already tinctured with an ardent sentiment of religion, shrunk appalled from a course of life which involved such moral enormities, and, without regarding the prospect of speedily becoming a judge, which his father, according to the iniquitous practice of the time, had secured for him *by patent*! he determined on devoting himself to the church, which, it must be confessed, at that time opened up fully as inviting prospects to an ambitious mind as the bar. His parents, to whom the moral *status* of a clergyman in those days was as nothing compared with the nominal rank of a judge, combated this resolution by all the means in their power, not excepting the threatened withdrawal of his inheritance. But Bruce, who is said to have felt what he considered a spiritual call towards his new profession, resigned his pretensions to the estate without a sigh, and, throwing off the embroidered scarlet dress which he had worn as a courtier, exchanged his residence at Edinburgh for the academical solitude of St Andrews, where he commenced the study of theology.

At this period, Andrew Melville, the divinity professor of St Andrews, was undergoing banishment on account of his opposition to the court; but being permitted to resume his duties in 1586, Bruce enjoyed the advantage of his prelections for the ensuing winter, and appears to have become deeply imbued with his peculiar spirit. In the summer of 1587, he was brought to Edinburgh by Melville, and recommended to the General Assembly, as a fit successor to the deceased Mr Lawson, who, in his turn, had been the successor of Knox. This charge, however, Bruce scrupled to undertake, lest he should be found unfit for its important duties; he would only consent to preach till the next synod, by way of trying his abilities. It appears that he filled the pulpit for some months, though not an ordained clergyman; which certainly conveys a strange impression of the rules of the church at that period. He was even persuaded, on an emergency, to undertake the task of dispensing the communion—which must be acknowledged as a still more remarkable breach of ecclesiastical system. He was soon after called by the unanimous voice of the people to become their pastor; but partly, perhaps, from a conscientious aversion to ordination, and partly from a respect to his former exertions, he would never submit to any ceremonial, such as is considered necessary by all Christian churches in giving commission to a new member. He judged the call of the people and the approbation of the ministry to be sufficient warrant for his undertaking this sacred profession.

So rapidly did the reputation of Bruce advance among his brethren, that, in six months after this period, at an extraordinary meeting of the General Assem-

bly, which was called to consider the means of defence against the Spanish Armada, he was chosen *Moderator*. A charge was preferred to this court against a preacher named Gibson, who had uttered disrespectful language in his pulpit regarding king James. The accused party was charged to appear, and, failing to do so, was suspended for contumacy. There can be no doubt that the church was most reluctant to proceed to such an extremity with one of its members on a court charge; and its readiness to do so can only be accounted for as necessitated in some measure by the avowed constitution of the church itself, which repeatedly set forth that it did not claim an exemption for its members from ordinary law, but only desired that an impeached individual should *first* be tried by his brethren. Accordingly we find the conscience of the Moderator immediately accusing him in a strange way for having yielded a brother to lay vengeance; for, on that night, he thought he heard a voice saying to him, in the Latin language, 'Why hast thou been present at the condemnation of my servant?' When the destruction of the Spanish Armada was known in Scotland, Bruce preached two thanksgiving sermons, which were published in 1591, and display a strength of sentiment and language fully sufficient to vindicate the contemporary reputation of the author to posterity.

Master Robert Bruce,<sup>1</sup> as he was styled in compliance with the common fashion of the time, figured conspicuously in the turbulent proceedings which, for some years after this period, characterised the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. By king James he seems to have been regarded with a mixture of respect, jealousy, and fear, the result of his powerful abilities, his uncompromising hostility to undue regal power, and the freedom with which he censured the follies and vices of the court. It was by no means in contradiction to these feelings that, when James sailed for Denmark in 1589, to bring home his queen, he raised Master Robert to the Privy Council, and invested him with a non-commissioned power of supervision over the behaviour of the people during his absence; telling him, at the same time, that he had more confidence in him and the other ministers of Edinburgh, than in the whole of his nobles. The king knew well enough that if he did not secure the exertions of the clergy on the side of the government during his absence, they would certainly act against it. As might have been expected from the influence of the clergy, the usual disorders of the realm ceased entirely during the supremacy of this system of theocracy; and the chief honour of course fell upon Bruce. The turbulent Earl of Bothwell, who was the nominal head of the government, proposed, during James's absence, to make a public repentance for a life of juvenile profligacy. The strange scene, which exhibited the first man in the kingdom humbled for sin before an ordinary Christian congregation, took place on the 9th of November in the High Church. On this occasion Bruce preached a sermon from 2 Tim., chap. ii., verses 22-26, which was printed among others in 1591, and abounds in good sense, and in pointed and elegant language. When the sermon was ended, the Earl of Bothwell upon his knees confessed his dissolute and licentious life, and with tears in his eyes uttered the following words—'I wald to God, that I might mak sic a repentance as mine heart craveth; and I desire you all to pray for it.' But it was the repentance of Esau, and soon effaced by greater enormities.

On the return of king James with his queen, in May, 1590, Bruce received the cordial thanks of his Majesty for his zeal in composing differences during his absence, and his care in tutoring the people to behave decently before the queen and her Danish attendants. He was also honoured with the duty of placing the

<sup>1</sup> The affix, *Master*, appears to have been first used in Scotland as part of the style of the clergy. Throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, it is not observed to have been applied to any other class of men.

crown upon the queen's head at her coronation ; which was considered a great triumph on the part of the Presbyterian church over the titular bishops. In the ensuing June, Bruce was himself married to Margaret, daughter of Douglas of Parkhead, a considerable baron, who some years after rendered himself conspicuous by assassinating James Stuart, Earl of Arran, who had been the favourite of king James, and the arch-enemy of the Presbyterian polity. The parents of Bruce appear to have been now reconciled to him, for, on the occasion of his marriage, they gave him back his inheritance of Kinnaird.

The Protestant Church of Scotland had been so highly exasperated against the Catholics at the Reformation, and was now so imminently threatened by them, that its conduct in regard to that body at this period, bears very much the aspect of persecution. Three Catholic earls, Huntly, Angus, and Errol, had entered into the views which Spain for some years entertained against both divisions of Britain ; and they were now justly liable to the extreme vengeance of their sovereign for treason. James, however, never could be brought to put the laws fully in force against them, from a fear lest the Catholic party in general might thereby be provoked to oppose his succession to Elizabeth. The backwardness of James, and the forwardness of the clergy in this cause, naturally brought them into violent collision, and as Bruce, next to Melville, was now the leader of the clergy, he became exceedingly odious to his sovereign. The following anecdote, related by an Episcopalian pamphleteer of a succeeding age, will illustrate their relative positions better than any thing else. "It is to this day remembered," says Maxwell, bishop of Ross, in the *Burden of Isachar*, printed 1646, "that when Master Robert Bruce came from his visitation in the east, returning to Edinburgh, and entering by the Canongate, king James, looking out at his window in the palace of Holyroodhouse, with indignation (which extorted from him an oath), said, 'Master Robert Bruce, I am sure, intends to be king, and declare himself heir to king Robert de Bruce.' At another time, wishing to recall the three banished lords, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, James attempted to gain the consent of Master Robert, who possessed more power in Edinburgh, through his command of consciences, than the sovereign himself. Being ushered into the king's bed-chamber, James opened unto him his views upon the English crown, and his fears lest the Papists in Scotland, of whom these lords were the chief, should contrive to join with their brethren in England, and raise obstacles to his succession. He continued, 'Do you not think it fit, Master Robert, that I give them a pardon, restore them to their honour and lands, and by doing so gain them, that thus I may save the effusion of Christian blood?' To this demand, so piously made, the answer was, 'Sir, you may pardon Angus and Errol, and recall them; but it is not fit, nor will you ever obtain my consent to pardon or recall Huntly.' To this the most gracious king sweetly replied, 'Master Robert, it were better for me to pardon and recall him without the other two, than the other two without him: first, because you know he hath a greater command, and is more powerful than the other two; secondly, you know I am more assured of his affection to me, for he hath married my near and dear kinswoman, the Duke of Lennox his sister.' His rejoinder was, 'Sir, I cannot agree to it.' The king desiring him to consider it, dismissed him; but when sent for once more, Mr Robert still continued inexorable: 'I agree with all my heart,' said he, 'that you recall Angus and Errol; but for Huntly it cannot be.' The king resumed, and repeated his reasons before mentioned, and added some more; but he obstinately opposed and contradicted it. \* \* \* King James desired his reasons; he gave none, but spoke majestically. Then the king told him downright, 'Master Robert, I have told you my purpose; you see how nearly it concerneth me; I have given you my reasons for my resolutions; you give me your

opinion, but you strengthen it not with reasons. Therefore, I will hold my resolution, and do as I first spoke to you.' To which, with Christian and subject-like reverence, Bruce returned this reply, 'Well, Sir, you may do as you list; but choose you, you shall not have me and the Earl of Huntly both for you.' Though this tale is told by an enemy, it bears too many characteristic marks to be altogether false; and certainly it presents a most expressive picture of the comparative importance of the leader of the Scottish church and the leader of the Scottish state. Maxwell insinuates interested and unworthy motives for Bruce's conduct on this occasion; but the whole tenor of the man's life disproves their reality. There can be no doubt that he was actuated solely by a fear for the effect which Huntly's great territorial influence might have upon the Scottish church. To show that his conduct on this occasion was by no means of an uncommon kind, we may relate another anecdote. On the 6th of June, 1593, the king came to the Little Kirk, to hear Bruce's sermon. In his discourse, Bruce moved the question, "What could the great disobedience of the land mean now, while the king was present? seeing some reverence was borne to his shadow while absent." To this he himself answered, that it was the *universal contempt of his subjects*. He therefore exhorted the king "to call to God, before he either ate or drank, that the Lord would give him a resolution to execute justice on malefactors, although it should be with the hazard of his life: which, if he would enterprise courageously, the Lord would raise enough to assist, and all his impediments would vanish away. Otherwise," said he, in conclusion, "you will not be suffered to enjoy your crown alone, but every man will have one." When we find the king obliged to submit to such rebukes as this before his subjects, can we wonder at his finding it a difficult task to exact obedience from those subjects, either to himself or the laws.

The extraordinary power of the Scottish church came at length to a period. During a violent contention between the church and court in 1596, the partizans of the former were betrayed by their zeal into a kind of riot, which was construed by the king into an attack upon his person. The re-action occasioned by this event, and the increased power which he now possessed in virtue of his near approach to the English throne, enabled him to take full advantage of their imprudence, in imposing certain restrictions upon the church, of an episcopal tendency. Bruce, who preached the sermon which preceded the riot, found it necessary, though not otherwise concerned, to fly to England. He did not procure permission to return for some months, and even then he was not allowed to resume his functions as a parish minister. For some time, he officiated privately in the houses of his friends. Nor was it till after a long course of disagreeable contentions with the court, that he was received back into one of the parochial pulpits of Edinburgh.

This was but the beginning of a series of troubles which descended upon the latter half of Bruce's life. In August, 1600, the king met with the strange adventure known by the name of the Gowrie Conspiracy. When he afterwards requested the ministers of Edinburgh to give an account of this affair to their congregations, and offer up thanks for his deliverance, Bruce happened to be one of a considerable party who could not bring themselves to believe that James had been conspired against by the two young Ruthvens, but rather were of opinion that the whole affair was a conspiracy of his own to rid himself of two men whom he had reason to hate. A strange incoherent notion as to the attachment of these young men to the presbyterian system, and the passion which one of them had entertained for the queen, took possession of this party, though there is not the slightest evidence to support either proposition. To king James, who was full of his wonderful deliverance, this scepticism was exceedingly

annoying, for more reasons than one; and accordingly it was not surprising that he should have been disposed to take the sharpest measures with a recusant of so much popular influence as Bruce. "Ye have heard me, ye have heard my minister, ye have heard my council, ye have heard the Earl of Mar," exclaimed the enraged monarch; yet all would not do. The chancellor then pronounced a sentence dictated by the council, prohibiting Bruce and three of his brethren to preach in the kingdom under pain of death.

Bruce was not the man to be daunted or driven from his purpose when the liberties of his church and the maintenance of a good conscience were concerned. He had made up his mind to withstand, at all hazards, the now undisguised machinations of his infatuated monarch to crush the Presbyterian cause. In 1596, when the privy council was prosecuting David Black, minister of St. Andrew's, for certain expressions he had uttered in the pulpit, Bruce headed a deputation of ministers to the king, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation. He declared with solemn earnestness, on behalf of himself and his associates, "that if the matter concerned only the life of Mr Black, or that of a dozen others, they would have thought it of comparatively trifling importance; but as it was the liberty of the gospel, and the spiritual sovereignty of the Lord Jesus that was assailed, they could not submit, but must oppose all such proceedings, to the extreme hazard of their lives." This declaration moved the king at the time, and wrung tears from his eyes; but the relentings of his better nature were soon overcome by his courtiers. He was but too anxious to get so formidable an opponent as Bruce out of the way, and the present occasion afforded him a favourable opportunity. Bruce, after spending some time as a prisoner in Airth, his paternal seat, embarked at Queensferry on the 5th of November 1600, for Dieppe in Normandy, which he reached in five days. Next year he was allowed to return to his native country, although not to reside in Edinburgh. He had two interviews with James, one of them at the very moment when his majesty mounted horse on his journey to England. But the minions of the court and friends of the episcopal religion contrived to prevent his offers of submission from having their due weight. He was formally deposed in 1605, and sent to Inverness, which was then a frequent place of banishment for obnoxious clergymen. There he remained for eight years, only exercising his gifts in a private way, but still with the best effect upon the rude people who heard him. In 1613, his son procured permission for his return to Kinnaird, upon the condition that he would confine himself to that place. There, however, he soon found himself very painfully situated, on account of the comparatively dissolute manners of the neighbouring clergy, who are said to have persecuted him in return for the freedom he used in censuring their behaviour. He obtained leave from the Privy Council to retire to a more sequestered house at Monkland, near Bothwell, where, however, he soon attracted the notice of the Bishop of Glasgow, on account of the crowds which flocked to hear him. He was obliged to return to Kinnaird. In 1621, the Scottish parliament was about to pass the faned articles of Perth, in order to bring back something like form to the national system of worship. Bruce could not restrain his curiosity to witness this awful infliction upon the church; he took advantage of some pressing piece of private business to come to Edinburgh. The bishops watched the motions of their powerful enemy with vigilance, and he was soon observed. They entered a petition and complaint before the Council, and he was committed to Edinburgh castle for several months, after which he was again banished to Inverness. Some of the lords of the council, who were his friends, wrote to court, in order to have the place of confinement fixed at his family seat; but James had heard of the effect of his preachings at that place, and returned for answer,—'It is not



for the love of him that ye have written, but to entertain a schism in the kirk ; we will have no more popish pilgrimages to Kinnaird (in allusion to the frequent intercourse between Bruce and the pious people of the surrounding country); he shall go to Inverness.' The King never forgave his scepticism of the Gowrie conspiracy, although this was the occasion rather than the cause of the persecution which tracked him in his latter years. He remained at Inverness till the death of James in 1625, when he obtained permission once more to reside at his own house. He was even allowed, for some time after this, to preach in several of the parish churches around Edinburgh, whither large crowds flocked to hear him. At length, in 1629, Charles wrote to the Council, requesting that he might again be confined to Kinnaird, or the space of two miles around it. The church of Larbert having been neglected by the bishops, and left in ruins without either minister or stipend, he had repaired it at his own expense, and now finding it within the limits of his confinement, he preached there every Sunday to a numerous and eager audience. At one of his sermons, either in that church or in the neighbourhood, he gained a proselyte who vindicated his cause, and that of Presbyterians in general, a few years after. This was the celebrated Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, in Fife, whom he was the means of converting, by preaching from the first verse of the tenth chapter of St John's Gospel.

Bruce had now lived to see the Scottish Presbyterian Church altered for an imperfect Episcopacy, and as he prepared for the fate which threescore and ten years had long marked out for him, he must have felt convinced that what remained of his favourite system could not long survive him. The revival of the Presbyterian polity, in all its pristine glory, was reserved in its proper time for his pupil Henderson. Exhausted with the infirmities of age, he was for some time almost confined to his chamber; yet, as he laboured under no active disease, his end advanced slowly. On the 13th of August, 1631, having breakfasted with his family, in the usual manner, he felt death approaching, and warned his children that his Master called him. With these words, he desired a Bible to be brought, and finding that his sight was gone, he requested his daughter to place his hand on the two last verses of the Epistle to the Romans. These were highly expressive of his life, his resolution, and his hopes. When his hand was fixed on the words, he remained for a few moments satisfied and silent. He had only strength to add, 'Now God be with you, my children; I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup to-night with the Lord Jesus Christ.' He then closed his eyes, and peacefully expired.

Such was the end of the long and various life of Robert Bruce. His bold and comprehensive mind, his stern independence, and stainless integrity, are qualities, which, under every disadvantage, procure the respect of mankind, and indicate superior character. Less violent than Melville, more enlightened than Knox, he viewed with a brighter and milder eye the united interests of the church and nation. Had he chosen to accommodate himself to the temporising spirit of the age, he might have stood high in royal favour, and become, in point of political influence, the first man of the age. But the true greatness of his character as a Christian minister and a patriot, which shone brightest in adversity, would never have appeared; nor would the services have been rendered to his church and country which contributed to secure to them those blessings of rational freedom and liberty of conscience which have descended to our own times, and which it should be our study to preserve and transmit to future generations. James VI. found in men like Bruce, and in the church of which he was an ornament, formidable obstacles to the civil and spiritual despotism which he had destined for his Scottish subjects; hence his fear of both was equal to his dislike. Impartial history indorses not the later but the earlier judgment of the King,

who was so sensible of the valuable services of the church in preserving public tranquillity, during his absence in Sweden on the occasion of his marriage, that in his letters to Bruce he declared that he was "worth the quarter of his kingdom."

The person of Robert Bruce was tall and dignified. His countenance was majestic, and his appearance in the pulpit grave, and expressive of much authority. His manner of delivery was, in the words of a presbyterian historian, 'an earthquake to his hearers, and he rarely preached but to a weeping auditory.' It is told, as an instance of the effect of his sermons, that a poor Highlander one day came to him after he had concluded, and offered to him his whole wealth (two cows), on condition that he would make God his friend. Accustomed to continual prayer and intense meditation on religious subjects, his ardent imagination at times appears to have lost itself in visions of the divine favour; a specious, but natural illusion, by which the most virtuous minds have been deceived and supported, when reason and philosophy have been summoned in vain. His knowledge of the Scriptures was extensive, and accurate beyond the attainment of his age. His skill in the languages, and the sciences of those times, not to mention his acquaintance with the laws and constitution of the kingdom, a branch of knowledge possessed by few of his brethren, was equal, if not superior, to that of any of the Scottish reformers. His sermons, of which sixteen were printed in his lifetime, display a boldness of expression, regularity of style, and force of argument, seldom to be found in the Scottish writers of the sixteenth century. A translation of their rich idiomatic Scottish into the English tongue was printed in 1617, and is that which is now most common in Scotland.

This great man was buried within the church of Lærbert, in which he had often preached during the latter part of his life. People assembled from all quarters to attend his funeral; and, according to Calderwood, between four and five thousand persons followed his corpse to the grave. It is impossible to conclude this narrative of his life, without remarking how much of his person and character revived in the Abyssinian Bruce, his descendant in the sixth degree, whose person was also majestic, and whose mind, while diminished a little in utility by hasty passion and a want of accommodation to circumstances, was also of the most powerful cast, and calculated to produce a great impression upon those around it.

BRUNTON, Mrs MARY, an eminent moral novelist of the present century was born in the island of Burra, in Orkney, November 1, 1778. Her father was Colonel Thomas Balfour of Elwick, a cadet of one the most respectable families in the county of Orkney. Her mother was Frances Ligonier, only daughter of Colonel Ligonier of the 13th dragoons, and niece of the Earl of Ligonier, under whose care she was educated. Previous to her sixteenth year, Mary Balfour had received some instructions in music, and in French and Italian, from her mother; and her education was completed by a short residence at a boarding-school in Edinburgh. At the early age mentioned, she had to undertake the charge of her father's household, from which she was removed in her twentieth year, to be the wife of the Rev. Alexander Brunton, minister of the parish of Bolton in East Lothian. In the retirement, and moderate elegance of a Scottish manse, Mrs Brunton was only at first conspicuous for her attention to her household duties. Afterwards, however, the tastes of her husband led her gradually into habits of study, and she went, with his direction and assistance, through a course of reading, in history, philosophy, criticism, and the belles lettres. The promotion of her husband to a ministerial charge at Edinburgh, which took place six years after her marriage, was favourable to the expansion

and improvement of her intellect, by introducing her into a circle of society more enlightened than any in which she had hitherto moved. The native powers of her mind were slowly developed; she ripened from the simple housewife into the clear-minded and intelligent *savante*. Yet for many years, she was only known as a well-informed, but perfectly unpretending female. So far from displaying any disposition to active literature, she felt the composition of a letter to be burdensome. A trivial circumstance is said to have operated, with several other causes, in inducing her to attempt a regular work. She had often urged her husband to undertake some literary work, and once she appealed to an intimate friend, who was present, whether he would not publish it. This third party expressed a ready consent, but said he would at least as willingly publish a book of her own writing. This seemed at the time to strike her with a sense of her powers hitherto not entertained, and she asked more than once whether he was in earnest. She then appears to have commenced her novel, entitled "Self Control," of which she had finished a considerable part of the first volume before making even her husband privy to her design. In 1811, the work was published at Edinburgh, in two volumes, and the impression which it made upon the public was immediate and decisive. It was acknowledged that there were faults of a radical and most unfortunate kind—such as the perpetual danger to which the honour of the heroine was exposed, (an intolerable subject of fictitious writing,) but every one appreciated the beauty and correctness of the style, and the acuteness of observation, and loftiness of sentiment, which pervaded the whole. The modesty of Mrs Brunton, which was almost fantastic, induced her to give this composition to the world without her name. Four years afterwards, she published a second novel in three volumes, entitled "Discipline," which was only admired in a degree inferior to the first. She afterwards commenced a third tale under the title "Emmeline," which she did not live to finish.

Mrs Brunton had been married twenty years without being blessed with any offspring. In the summer of 1818, when a prospect of that blessing occurred, she became impressed with a belief that she should not survive. With a tranquillity, therefore, which could only be the result of great strength of mind, joined to the purest sentiments of religion and virtue, she made every preparation for death, exactly as if she had been about to leave her home upon a journey. The clothes in which she was to be laid in the grave, were selected by herself; she herself had chosen and labelled some tokens of remembrance for her more intimate friends; and she even prepared with her own hand a list of the individuals to whom she wished intimations of her death to be sent. Yet these anticipations, though so deeply fixed, neither shook her fortitude, nor diminished her cheerfulness. They neither altered her wish to live, nor the ardour with which she prepared to meet the duties of returning health, if returning health were to be her portion.

To the inexpressible grief of her husband and friends, and, it may be said, of the literary world at large, the unfortunate lady's anticipations proved true. On the 7th of December, she gave birth to a still-born son, and for some days recovered with a rapidity beyond the hopes of her medical attendants. A fever, however, took place, and, advancing with fatal violence, terminated her valuable life on the 19th, in the forty-first year of her age.

The whole mind and character of Mrs Brunton was "one pure and perfect chrysolite" of excellence. We are so agreeably anticipated in an estimate of her worth by an obituary tribute paid to her memory by Mrs Joanna Baillic, that we shall make no scruple for laying it before the reader:—

No more shall bed-rid pauper watch  
 The gentle rising of the latch,  
 And as she enters shift his place,  
 To hear her voice and see her face.  
 The helpless vagrant, oft relieved,  
 From her hath his last dole received.  
 The circle, social and enlightened,  
 Whose evening hours her converse brighten'd,  
 Have seen her quit the friendly door,  
 Whose threshold she shall cross no more.  
 And he, by holy ties endear'd,  
 Whose life her love so sweetly cheer'd,  
 Of her cold clay, the mind's void cell,  
 Hath ta'en a speechless last farewell.  
 Yea, those who never saw her face,  
 Now did on blue horizon trace  
 One mountain of her native land,  
 Nor turn that leaf with eager hand,  
 On which appears the unfinish'd page,  
 Of her whose works did oft engage  
 Untired attention, interest deep,  
 While searching, healthful thoughts would creep  
 To the heart's core, like balmy air,  
 To leave a kindly feeling there,—  
 And gaze, till stain of fallen tears,  
 Upon the snowy blank appears.  
 Now all who did her friendship claim,  
 With alter'd voice pronounce her name,  
 And quickly turn, with wistful ear,  
 Her praise from stranger's lips to hear,  
 And hoard as saintly relics gain'd,  
 Aught that to her hath e'er pertain'd.

The last beautiful allusion is to the unfinished tale of Emmeline, which was published by her husband, Dr Brunton (now professor of Oriental Languages in the university of Edinburgh), along with a brief, but most elegant and touching memoir of her life.

BRYCE, (the Rev.) ALEXANDER, an eminent geometrician, was born in the year 1713, at Boarland in the parish of Kincardine, and received the first rudiments of learning at the school of Downe, Perthshire. He studied afterwards at the university of Edinburgh, where his proficiency in mathematics and practical astronomy, early attracted the notice and secured for him the patronage of professor Maclaurin. At the particular request of that celebrated man, he went to Caithness, in May 1740, as tutor to a gentleman's son, but chiefly to construct a map of the northern coast; the number of shipwrecks rendering this, at the time, an object of considerable national importance. During a residence of three years, and in defiance of many threats from the peasantry, (which made it necessary for him to go always armed,) who did not relish so accurate an examination of their coast, from motives of disloyalty, or because they were afraid, it would deprive them of two principal sources of income—smuggling and plunder from the shipwrecks, he accomplished *at his own expense*, the geometrical survey, and furnished "A Map of the north coast of Britain, from Raw Stoir of Assynt, to Wick in Caithness, with the harbours and rocks, and an account of the tides in the Pentland Firth." This map was afterwards published by the philosophical, now the Royal, Society of Edinburgh in 1744. Mr Arrowsmith, it may be mentioned, has lately pronounced it to be

very accurate, after a minute examination, while preparing materials for his large map of Scotland.

On his return to Edinburgh in 1743, Mr Bryce gave very efficient aid, with his friend the reverend Mr Wallace of Haddo's Hole church, in verifying the necessary calculations submitted to them by doctor Webster, previous to the institution, by act of parliament, of the fund for a provision for the widows of the Scottish clergy; the regular increase of which since, and its present flourishing state, form the best encomium of those who laboured for its establishment.

In June, 1744, he was licensed to preach, by the reverend Presbytery of Dunblane; and having received a presentation by James, earl of Morton, to the church and parish of Kirknewton, within the Presbytery of Edinburgh, he was ordained to serve that cure, in August, 1745. From his knowledge of the inland geography of Scotland, and line of the roads, he was enabled, this year, to furnish the quarter-master general of the army of the Duke of Cumberland with important information regarding the march of the forces, in subduing the rebellion. In the winter of 1746, and spring of 1746, he taught the mathematical classes in the university of Edinburgh, at the desire, and during the last illness of Professor Maclaurin, who died in June following. Mr Bryce expressed his sorrow for the loss of his friend in verse, of which the following is a specimen:—

Yon angel guards that wait his soul,  
Amaz'd at aught from earth so bright,  
Find nothing new from pole to pole;  
To show him in a clearer light.

Joyful he bears glad news<sup>1</sup> on high,  
And tells them through celestial space;  
See Newton hastens down the sky,  
To meet him with a warm embrace!

The list'ning choirs around them throng,  
Their love and wonder fond to show;  
On golden harps they tune the song,—  
Of Nature's laws in worlds below.

O Forbes, Foulks, loved Morton, mourn;  
Edina, London, Paris, sigh;  
With tears bedew his costly urn,  
And pray—Earth light upon him lie.

In the year 1750, having occasion to visit Stirling, and knowing that, by an act of the Scottish parliament, this borough had the keeping of the Pint Jug, the standard, by special statute, for weight and for liquid and dry measure in Scotland, he requested a sight of it from the magistrates. Having been referred to the council house, a *pewter pint jug*, which had been kept suspended from the roof of the apartment, was taken down and given to him; after minutely examining it, he was convinced that it could not be the standard. The discovery was in vain communicated to the magistrates, who were ill able to appreciate their loss. It excited very different feelings in the mind of an antiquary and a mathematician; and resolved, if possible, to recover this valuable antique, he immediately instituted a search; which, though conducted with much patient industry during part of this and the following year, proved un-

<sup>1</sup> A few days before his friend's death, he saw him institute a calculation for ascertaining the proportion that existed between the axis of the earth and the diameter of its equator. It proceeded on data sent him by the Earl of Morton, president of the Royal Society, consisting of observations made in Peru by the French mathematicians, and communicated at London by Don Antonio, who was taken prisoner at Cape Breton. The proportion ascertained was very nearly that which Sir Isaac Newton had predicted; being as 231 : 222, and afforded particular gratification. These are the news he is supposed to bear.

availing. In the spring of 1752, it occurred to him, that this standard might have been borrowed by some of the braziers or coppersmiths, for the purpose of making legal measures for the citizens; and having learned that a person of this description, called Urquhart, had joined the rebel forces in 1745, that his furniture and shop utensils had been brought to public sale on his not returning; and that various articles which had not been sold, were thrown into a garret as useless, he obtained permission to inspect them; and to his great satisfaction, discovered, under a mass of lumber, the precious object of his long research. Thus was recovered the only legal standard of weight and measure in Scotland; after it had been offered, in ignorance, for public sale, and thrown aside unsold as trash, and long after it had been considered by its *constitutional guardians* as irretrievably lost.

The standard Stirling pint jug is made of brass, in the form of a hollow truncated cone, and weighs 14 pounds, 10 ounces, 1 drop, and 18 grains, Scotch troy. The mean diameter of the mouth is 4.17 inches. The mean diameter of the bottom 5.25 inches, and the mean depth 6 inches English. On the front, near the mouth, in alto relievo, is a shield and lion rampant, the arms of Scotland: and near the bottom another shield, and an ape, passant gardant, with the letter S below, supposed to have been intended as the arms of Stirling. The arms at present are a wolf. The ape must have been put on therefore inadvertently by the maker, or the town must have changed its arms at a period subsequent to the time when the standard was ordered to be made. The handle is fixed with two brass nails; the whole is of rude workmanship, and indicates great antiquity.

By an act of the Scottish parliament, Edinburgh had the keeping of the standard ell; Perth the reel; Lanark the pound: Linlithgow the firlo, and Stirling the *pint jug*; an arrangement made by the legislature, in the view of improving the internal commerce of the country, by checking the frauds which the traffickers of a rude age may be supposed to have often attempted, and because the commodities, to which these different standards referred, were known to have been supplied in greater abundance by the districts and towns to whose care they were respectively committed. Hence it may be inferred, that Lanark was then the principal market for wool; Perth for yarn; Edinburgh for cloth; Linlithgow for grain; and Stirling for distilled and fermented liquors. The Stirling jug is mentioned in acts of Parliament as being in the town before the reign of James II. in 1437: and the last mention made of it is in the reign of James VI., in an "Act of Parliament, 19 February, 1618, anent settling the measures and weights of Scotland." No accurate experiments appear to have been afterwards made with it for fixing the legal quantity of these measures and weights, till the following by Mr Bryce in 1762-3; a period of about one hundred and thirty-five years!

Having been permitted, after recovering the Standard jug, to carry it with him to Edinburgh, his first object was to ascertain precisely, by means of it, the number of cubic inches, and parts of a cubic inch, in the *true Scotch pint*.

For this purpose the mouth of the jug was made exactly horizontal, by applying to it a spirit level: a minute silver wire of the thickness of a hair, with a plummet attached to each end, was laid across the mouth, and water poured gently in, till, with a magnifying glass, it was seen just to touch the wire: the water was then carefully weighed in a balance, the beam of which would turn with a single grain, when 96 ounces were in each scale. After seventeen trials with clear spring and river water, several of which were made in presence of the magistrates of Edinburgh, the content of the jug was found

to weigh, at a medium of the trials, 54 ounces, 8 drops, 20 grains, or 26,180 grains, English troy.

His next object was to determine accurately, how many of these grains were contained in a cubic inch of water. With this view, a cylindrical brass vessel was made with great accuracy, by a scale of Bird, the celebrated mathematical instrument-maker of London, to contain 100 cubic inches. This vessel was filled several times with the same water as in the trials with the jug, and its content was found to weigh 25,318 grains, English troy. This number, divided by 100, gives  $253\frac{18}{100}$  grains, as the weight of a cubic inch of water: therefore,  $26180 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 253\frac{18}{100} \end{array} \right\} = 103\frac{404}{1000}$ , the exact number of cubic inches, and parts of

a cubic inch, in the standard Scotch pint:  $51\frac{792}{1000}$  cubic inches in the chopin:  $25\frac{61}{1000}$  cubic inches in the mutchkin; and so on, proportionally, in the other smaller Scotch measures.

Mr Bryce next applied the Standard jug to fix the legal size of the different measures for grain; which he compared with some of the English dry measures. By act of parliament, 19 February, 1618, formerly mentioned, it is ordained, that the *wheat and pease firlo* shall contain  $21\frac{1}{2}$  pints; and the *bear and oat firlo* 31 pints of the just Stirling jug. Therefore, since there are  $103\frac{404}{1000}$  cubic inches in the standard Scotch pint, there will be  $2197\frac{335}{1000}$  cubic inches in the wheat and pease firlo;  $549\frac{237}{1000}$  in the peck; and  $137\frac{334}{1000}$  in the lippie—in the bean and oat firlo,  $3205\frac{524}{1000}$  cubic inches;  $801\frac{381}{1000}$  in the peck; and  $200\frac{245}{1000}$  in the lippie. The excess of a boll of bear above a boll of wheat was found to be precisely 5 pecks bear measure, and 1 mutchkin, without the difference of a single gill: or, a boll of bear is more than a boll of wheat, by 7 pecks  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lippie, wheat measure, wanting 1 gill.

The English corn bushel contains 2178 cubic inches, which is less than the Scotch wheat firlo, by 19.335 inches, or three gills; so that 7 firlo of wheat will make 7 English bushels and 1 lippie. The English corn bushel is less than the barley firlo, by 1 peck,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lippies nearly.

The legal English bushel, by which gaugers are ordered to make their returns of malt, contains 2150.42 cubic inches, which is less than the wheat firlo, 46.915 cubic inches, or 1 chopin, wanting  $\frac{1}{2}$  gill; and less than the bear firlo by 1055.104 cubic inches, or 2 bear pecks, wanting 7 gills.

A Scotch barley boll contains 5 bushels, 3 pecks, 2 lippies, and a little more, according to the Winchester gallon.

A Scotch barley boll, according to the legal measure, contains 6 bushels, wanting a little more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  lippie.

A Scotch chalder, (16 bolls of barley,) is equal to 11 quarters, 6 bushels, and 3 lippies, Winchester measure.

A Scotch chalder of wheat is equal to 8 quarters, 2 pecks, and 1 lippie, Winchester measure.

A wheat firlo made according to the dimensions mentioned in the Scotch act of parliament, 1618, viz,  $19\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, at top and bottom, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, Scotch measure, would be less than the true wheat firlo, (or  $21\frac{1}{2}$  pints of the Standard jug) by a Scotch chopin: a chalder of wheat measured with this firlo would fall short of the true quantity, 1 firlo, 2 pecks, or nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

A barley firlo made according to the dimensions in the said act, viz, having the same diameter at top and bottom as the wheat firlo, and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, Scotch measure, would be less than the true firlo, (or 31 pints of the Standard jug) by 5 mutchkins: and a chalder of bear, measured with such a

firlot, would fall short of the just quantity, 2 firlots, 2 pecks, and nearly 2 lippies, or 4 per cent.

These very remarkable mistakes must have proceeded from the ignorance or inaccuracy of the persons authorized by parliament to make the calculations, and to determine the exact dimensions of the firlot measure. For suppose a firlot were made of the following dimensions, viz., 20 inches diameter, English measure, at top and bottom, and 7 inches in depth, it would contain  $21\frac{1}{2}$  pints (the true wheat and pease firlot) and only  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a gill more.

A firlot of the same diameter as above, at top and bottom, and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches in depth, would contain 31 pints (the true bear and oat firlot) and only 2 gills more: but if, instead of  $10\frac{1}{2}$ , it be made  $10\frac{1}{4}$  inches in depth, it will be less than 31 pints, (the true Standard measure) only  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a single gill.

By the greater of these firlots were to be measured bear, oats, and malt; by the less wheat, rye, beans, pease, and salt.

According to the act of parliament in 1618, to which reference has been made, the Scotch pint contains of the clear running water of Leith three pounds and seven ounces, French troy weight, and this is ordained to be the weight of Scotland; therefore, in the Scotch pound there are 7616 troy grains; and in the Scotch ounce 476 troy grains; and so on proportionally, with regard to the other Scotch weights.

In this way, by the recovery of the standard Stirling pint jug, canons of easy application resulted, for determining the just quantity of the measures, liquid and dry, and also of the weights in Scotland, and therefore of great public utility, by settling disputes and preventing litigation in that part of the empire.

After having obtained the above results by means of the Standard jug, Mr Bryce superintended, at the desire of the magistrates of Edinburgh, the adjustment of the weights and measures, kept by the dean of Guild; and "*for his good services to the city*," was made a burghess and Guild brother in January, 1754.

Several detached memoirs by Mr Bryce were published by the Royal Society of London; particularly "An account of a Comet observed by him in 1766;" "A new method of measuring the Velocity of the Wind;" "An Experiment to ascertain to what quantity of Water a fall of Snow on the Earth's surface is equal." His observations on the transits of Venus, 6th June, 1761, and 3rd June, 1769, were considered by astronomers as important, in solving the grand problem. In May, 1767, he was consulted by the trustees for procuring surveys of the lines proposed for the canal between the Forth and Clyde, and received their thanks for his remarks, afterwards communicated to them in writing, on Mr Smeaton's first printed report. About this time, he was introduced to Stuart Mackenzie, lord privy seal of Scotland, who, as a lover of the arts and sciences, highly respecting his genius and acquirements, obtained for him soon after, the office of one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary; and, during the remainder of his life, honoured him with his friendship and patronage.

He planned for that gentleman the elegant observatory at Belmont castle, where also are still to be seen, an instrument contrived by him for ascertaining the magnifying powers of telescopes, and a horizontal marble dial, made with great precision, to indicate the hour, the minute, and every ten seconds. In 1770, his lordship having communicated an account of a phenomenon observed by lord Charles Cavendish, doctor Habberden, and himself, viz., "that a less quantity of rain (by a difference which was considerable) fell into the rain gauges placed on the top of Westminster abbey and an adjoining house, than into those placed below," and for which they found it difficult to account, Mr Bryce sent to his lordship, on the 14th December, an ingenious solution of the fact.



In 1772, he wrote "Remarks on the Barometer for measuring Altitudes;" showing the uncertainty and limited use of the instrument, as then commonly used for that purpose, and the means by which it might be rendered more perfect, and greater precision attained. These remarks were sent to lord privy seal in January, 1773. In a map of the Three Lothians engraved by Kitchen of London, and published in 1773, by Andrew and Mostyn Armstrong, "the scales of Longitude and Latitude are laid down agreeably to the observations of the Rev. Mr Bryce at Kirknewton manse." In April, 1774, in consequence of certain apparently insurmountable difficulties, he was consulted by the magistrates of Stirling on the subject of supplying the town with water: these difficulties he removed, by taking accurately all the different levels; making the calculations for the size of the leaden pipes and the reservoir, and fixing the situation for its being placed. For this service he had the freedom of the town conferred on him. In 1776, he made all the requisite calculations for an epitome of the solar system on a large scale, afterwards erected by the earl of Buchan at his seat at Kirkhill. In case of disputes about the extent of fields exchanged by neighbouring proprietors, or the line of their marches, he was generally chosen sole arbiter, and from his knowledge in land surveying, and the confidence reposed in him, had it often in his power to render them essential service. Mr Bryce used to send various meteorological observations and other detached notices to Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine.

From the time of his ordination in 1745, till his death on the 1st January, 1786, he discharged with great fidelity, all the duties of his pastoral office; and excelled particularly in that species of didactic discourse known in Scotland, under the name of lecture. His lectures, however, were never fully written, but spoken from notes; and he left no sermons for publication.

In early life he composed several songs, adapted to some of the most favourite Scottish airs, and his stanzas, in "The Birks of Invermay," have been long before the world. For about three years before his death, his greatest amusement was in writing poetry, chiefly of a serious and devotional cast; which, though not composed for the public eye, is read with satisfaction by his friends, and valued by them as an additional proof of his genius, and a transcript of that enlightened piety, uprightness of mind, and unshaken trust in his Creator, which characterized him through the whole of life.

BRYDONE, PATRICK, F. R. S., the well known author of *A Tour in Sicily and Malta*, one of the most entertaining works in the language, was the son of a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, and born in 1741. Having received an excellent university education, which qualified him for the duties of a travelling preceptor, he was engaged in that capacity, first by Mr Beckford, of Somerly in Suffolk, and afterwards Mr Fullarton, who was known in after life as commander of a large body of troops in India, and finally as one of the three commissioners for the government of Trinidad. His excursion with the former gentleman took place in 1767-8; the latter in 1770. In the second tour, he visited Sicily and Malta, which were then almost unknown to the English. Having written an account of this journey in a series of letters to Mr Beckford, he was induced by a consideration of the uninformed state of the British public upon this subject, to publish his work in 1773, under the title of "*A Tour through Sicily and Malta.*" This work is not only a most original and amusing narrative, but it contains a great deal of scientific knowledge, especially regarding the temperature of the air, which was the object of Mr Brydone's particular study. For the purpose of carrying on his scientific observations, he travelled with an apparatus as perfect as could then be procured, or as it was possible to carry in the luggage of a traveller. Having returned to

England in 1771, he obtained a respectable appointment under government, and after the publication of his travels, which procured for him no common share of reputation and respect, was nominated a member of several learned societies, particularly of the Royal Society, London. In the transactions of this learned body, are several papers of Mr Brydone, chiefly on the subject of electricity, of which he was a profound student, and a close and anxious observer. He spent the latter part of his life in retirement, at Lennel House, near Coldstream, where he was visited by the most distinguished persons in literature and public life. The author of *Marmion* has introduced into that work, the following episode respecting Mr Brydone :—

“ Where Lennel's convent closed their march :  
 There now is left but one frail arch,  
 Yet mourn thou not its cells ;  
 Our time a fair exchange has made ;  
 Hard by, in hospitable shade,  
 A reverend pilgrim dwells,  
 Well worth the whole Bernardine brood,  
 That e'er wore sandal, frock, or hood : ”

Patrick Brydone died at Lennel in 1818, at an advanced age.

BUCHAN, ELSPITH, the leader of a small sect of fanatics, now extinct, was the daughter of John Simpson, who kept an inn at Fitney-Can, the half way house between Banff and Portsoy. She was born in 1738, and educated in the Scottish Episcopal communion. Having been sent when a girl to Glasgow, in order to enter into a life of service, she married Robert Buchan, a workman in the pottery belonging to her master, with whom she lived for several years, and had several children. Having changed her original profession of faith for that of her husband, who was a burgher-seceder, her mind seems to have become perplexed with religious fancies, as is too often the case with those who alter their creed. She fell into a habit of interpreting the Scriptures literally, and began to promulgate certain strange doctrines, which she derived in this manner from holy writ. Having now removed to Irvine, she drew over to her own way of thinking, Mr Hugh Whyte, a Relief clergyman, who consequently abdicated his charge, and became her chief apostle. The sect was joined by persons of a rank of life in which no such susceptibility was to be expected. Mr Hunter, a writer, and several trading people in good circumstances, were among the converts. After having indulged their absurd fancies for several years at Irvine, the mass of the people at length rose in April, 1784, and assembled in a threatening and tumultuous manner around Mr Whyte's house, which had become the tabernacle of the new religion, and of which they broke all the windows. The Buchanites felt this insult so keenly, that they left the town to the number of forty-six persons, and, proceeding through Mauchline, Cumnock, Sanquhar, and Thornhill, did not halt till they arrived at a farmhouse, two miles south from the latter place, and thirteen from Dumfries, where they hired the out-houses for their habitation, in the hope of being permitted, in that lonely scene, to exercise their religion without further molestation. Mrs Buchan continued to be the great mistress of the ceremonies, and Mr Whyte to be the chief officiating priest. They possessed considerable property, which all enjoyed alike, and though several men were accompanied by their wives, all the responsibilities of the married state were given up. Some of them wrought gratuitously at their trades, for the benefit of those who employed them ; but they professed only to consent to this, in order that they might have opportunities of bringing over others to their own views. They scrupulously abjured all worldly considerations whatsoever, wishing only to lead a quiet and holy life, till the commencement of the Millennium, or

the day of judgment, which they believed to be at hand. Observing, they said, how the young ravens are fed, and how the lilies grow, we assure ourselves that God will feed and clothe us. Mrs Buchan, who was said to have given herself out to be the Virgin Mary, at first denied that she was so. Instead of being the mother of Christ, she said, after the flesh, she was his daughter after the spirit. The little republic existed for some time, without any thing occurring to mar their happiness, except the occasional rudeness of unbelieving neighbours. At length, as hope sickened, worldly feelings appear to have returned upon some of the members; and, notwithstanding all the efforts which Mrs Buchan could make to keep her flock together, a few returned to Irvine. It would seem that as the faith of her followers declined, she greatly increased the extravagance of her pretensions, and the rigour of her discipline. It is said that when any person was suspected of an intention to leave the society, she ordered him to be locked up, and ducked every day in cold water, so that it required some little address in any one to get out of her clutches. In the year 1786, the following facts were reported by some of the seceding members on their return to the west. "The distribution of provisions she kept in her own hand, and took special care that they should not pamper their bodies with too much food, and every one behaved to be entirely directed by her. The society being once scarce of money, she told them she had a revelation, informing her they should have a supply of cash from heaven: accordingly, she took one of the members out with her, and caused him to hold two corners of a sheet, while she held the other two. Having continued for a considerable time, without any shower of money falling upon it, the man at last tired, and left Mrs Buchan to hold the sheet herself. Mrs Buchan, in a short time after, came in with £5 sterling, and upbraided the man for his unbelief, which she said was the only cause that prevented it from coming sooner. Many of the members, however, easily accounted for this pretended miracle, and shrewdly suspected that the money came from her own hoard. That she had a considerable purse was not to be doubted, for she fell on many ways to rob the members of every thing they had of value. Among other things, she informed them one evening, that they were all to ascend to heaven next morning; therefore it was only necessary they should lay aside all their vanities and ornaments, ordering them, at the same time, to throw their rings, watches, &c. into the ash-hole, which many were foolish enough to do, while others more prudently hid every thing of this kind that belonged to them. Next morning she took out all the people to take their flight. After they had waited till they were tired, not one of them found themselves any lighter than they were the day before, but remained with as firm a footing on earth as ever. She again blamed their unbelief—said that want of faith alone prevented their ascension; and complained of the hardship she was under, in being obliged, on account of their unbelief, to continue with them in this world. She at last fell upon an expedient to make them light enough to ascend: nothing less was found requisite than to fast for forty days and forty nights. The experiment was immediately put in practice, and several found themselves at death's door in a very short time. She was then obliged to allow them some spirits and water; but many resolved no longer to submit to such regimen, and went off altogether. We know not," thus concludes the statement, "if the forty days be ended; but a few experiments of this kind will leave her, in the end, sole proprietor of the society's funds."

What adds to the curiosity of this strange tale of fanaticism, is, that Mrs Buchan's husband was still living in pursuit of his ordinary trade, and a faithful adherent of the burgher-seceders. One of her children, a boy of twelve or fourteen, lived with the father; two girls of more advanced age were among her own followers. Notwithstanding her increased absurdity, and we may add, the

increased tyranny of her behaviour, she continued to have a few followers in 1791, when she approached her last scene. Among these was her first apostle, Mr Whyte. Finding that she was about to go the way of all the earth, she called her disciples together, and exhorted them to continue steadfast and unanimous in their adherence to the doctrine which they had received from her. She told them she had one secret to communicate—a last desperate effort at imposition—that she was in reality the Virgin Mary, and mother of our Lord; that she was the same woman mentioned in the Revelations as being clothed with the sun, and who was driven into the wilderness; that she had been wandering in the world ever since our Saviour's days, and only for some time past had sojourned in Scotland: that though she might appear to die, they needed not be discouraged, for she would only sleep a little, and in a short time would visit them again, and conduct them to the new Jerusalem. After her death, which took place, May 1791, it was a long time before her votaries would straighten or dress the corpse; nor would they coffin her, until obliged by the smell; and after that they would not bury her, but built up the coffin in a corner of the barn, always expecting that she would rise again from the dead, according to her promise. At last, the neighbouring country people, shocked with these proceedings, went to a justice of peace, and got an order that she should be buried; so that the famous Mrs Buchan was at length reduced to a level with all the dead generations of her kind.

BUCHAN, WILLIAM, M.D. a popular medical writer of great celebrity, was born in 1729, at Ancrum in Roxburghshire. His grandfather had been obliged, for some time, to reside with his family in Holland, on account of the religious troubles which preceded the Revolution. His father possessed a small estate, in addition to which he rented a farm from the Duke of Roxburgh. His genius for medicine was displayed before he could have received any adequate instruction; and even when a school-boy, he was at once the physician and surgeon of the village. Nevertheless, being destined by his friends for the church, he repaired to Edinburgh, to study divinity. At the university he spent the unusual time of nine years, studying anything rather than theology. At this period of his life, mathematics and botany were among his favourite pursuits. Finally, he devoted himself wholly to medicine. He enjoyed, at this time, the friendship of the illustrious Gregory, whose liberal maxims are believed to have had great influence over his future life. Before taking his degree, he was induced, by the invitation of a fellow-student, to settle in practice for some time in Yorkshire. While established in that district, he became a candidate for the situation of Physician to the Foundling Hospital, then supported by parliament at Ackworth, and, after a fair trial of skill with ten professional men, was successful. In this situation he laid the foundation of that knowledge of the diseases of children, which afterwards appeared so conspicuous in his writings. Having returned to Edinburgh to take out his degree, he became acquainted with a well-connected lady of the name of Peter, whom he soon after married. He continued to be Physician to the Ackworth Foundling Hospital, till parliament, becoming convinced of the bad effects of such an institution, withdrew the annual grant of sixty thousand pounds, upon which it had hitherto been supported. He then removed to Sheffield, where for some time he enjoyed extensive practice. He appears to have spent the years between 1762 and 1766, in this town. He then commenced practice at Edinburgh, and for several years was very well employed, though it was allowed that he might have enjoyed much more business, if his convivial habits had not distracted so much of his attention. He was not, however, anxious for an extensive practice. Having for a considerable time directed his attention to a digest of popular medical knowledge, he published, in

1769, his work entitled, "Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician—being an attempt to render the Medical Art more generally useful, by showing people what is in their own power, both with respect to the prevention and cure of diseases: chiefly calculated to recommend a proper attention to regimen and simple medicines." This work, which had been much indebted, in respect of its composition, to the ingenious William Smellie, was published by Balfour, an eminent bookseller at Edinburgh, at the price of six shillings; and such was its success, that "the first edition," says the author, "of 5000 copies, was entirely sold off in a corner of Britain, before another could be got ready." The second edition appeared in 1772, "with considerable additions." The Domestic Medicine is constructed on a plan similar to that adopted by Tissot in his *Avis au Peuple*. It appealed to the wants and wishes of so large a class of the community, that, considering it to have been the first work of the kind published in Britain, there is no wonder that it should have attained such success. Before the death of the author in 1805, nineteen large editions had been sold, by which the publishers were supposed to realise annually about £700, being exactly the sum which they are said to have given at first for the copyright. The learned Duplanil of Paris, Physician to the Count d'Artois [Charles X.], published an elegant translation in five volumes, with some excellent notes, which rendered the work so popular on the Continent, that in a short time no language in Christendom, not even the Russian, wanted its translation. It would almost appear that the work met with more undivided applause on the Continent than in Britain. While many English and Scottish physicians conceived that it was as apt to generate as to cure or prevent diseases, by inspiring the minds of readers with hypochondriacal notions, those of other countries entertained no such suspicions. Among the testimonies of approbation which Dr Buchan received from abroad, was a huge gold medallion, sent by the Empress Catherine of Russia, with a complimentary letter. The work is said to have become more popular in America and the West Indies, than in the elder hemisphere. The reputation which the author thus acquired, induced him to remove to London, where for many years he enjoyed a lucrative practice, though not so great as it might have been made by a more prudent man. It was his custom to resort daily to the Chapter Coffee-house, near St Pauls, where he partly spent his time in conversation with literary and eminent men, and partly in giving advice to patients, who here resorted to him in great numbers, exactly as if it had been his own house. At one time, he delivered lectures on Natural Philosophy, which he illustrated by an excellent apparatus, the property of his deceased friend James Ferguson. And in this capacity he is said to have manifested as respectable abilities as in his character of a physician.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Buchan was a man of pleasing exterior, most agreeable manners, and great practical benevolence. He cherished no species of antipathy, except one against apothecaries, whom he believed to be a set of rogues, actuated by no principle except a wish to sell their own drugs, at whatever hazard to their patients. His conversation was much courted on account of his lively spirits, and a fund of anecdote which seemed to be perfectly exhaustless. He enjoyed a good constitution, which did not give way till the 25th of February, 1805, when he died in a moment, at his own house, while walking between his sofa and his bed. The disorder was water in the chest, which had been advancing upon him for some time, but was, up to the last moment, so little alarming, that immediately before rising from the sofa, he had been talking in his usual manner. The

<sup>1</sup> Two other works were published by the Doctor. 1. A Treatise on Gonorrhoea: 2. An Advice to Mothers on the subject of their own health, and on the means of promoting the health, strength, and beauty of their offspring. Each in one volume, 8vo.

Doctor left a son and daughter—the former a man of respectable gifts, and a fellow of the London Royal College of Physicians. His remains were interred in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, next to those of the celebrated Jebb.<sup>2</sup>

BUCHANAN, DUGALD, a Highland poet of eminent merit, was born, in the early part of the eighteenth century, in the parish of Balquhiddar, Perthshire. In early youth he is said to have been of a dissolute character; but little is known of him till he was found keeping a small school in a hamlet of his native country, and in possession of much local fame as a writer of devotional and pious verses. Some respectable persons, struck by his talents, interested themselves in his fate, and obtained for him the superior situation of school-master and catechist at Rannoch, on the establishment of the society for propagating Christian knowledge. When he first went to reside in that remote district, the people were so rude, from the want of religious instruction, that they hardly recognised the sacred nature of the Sabbath. They were in the habit of meeting at different places, on that day, to amuse themselves with foot-ball and other sports. The parish clergyman visited them once every three weeks; but, from the extent of the parish, he seems to have been unable to exercise any proper control over them. Buchanan, it is said, invited them all to come and enjoy their Sunday recreations with him, and when they arrived, began to perform divine worship, which he seasoned with a lecture on the sin of Sabbath-breaking. Though many were disgusted at first, all of them became at length convinced of their error, and Buchanan in time brought them into a state of high religious culture, the effects of which are said to be visible at this day in Rannoch. The education of this poor scholar was not of the best order; yet he was acquainted with divinity, natural philosophy, and history, and possessed a most felicitous gift of poetry, which he almost exclusively employed for sacred purposes. His writings, which are unknown to English readers, and never can be adequately translated, resemble those of Cowper. An effort was made to obtain for him a license as a preacher of the Scottish church, but without success. He was of much service to the Rev James Stewart of Killin, in translating the New Testament into Gaelic. Having accompanied that gentleman to Edinburgh, in order to aid him in superintending the press, he took the opportunity of improving himself by attendance on the classes for natural philosophy and anatomy in the college. He was at the same time introduced to David Hume, who maintained, in conversation with him, that, although the bible was an excellent book, it was surpassed in beauty and sublimity of language by many profane authors. In support of his assertion, he quoted the lines—

"The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yes, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,  
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,  
Leave not a wreck behind."

The devout bard admitted the beauty and sublimity of these lines, but said, that he could furnish a passage from the New Testament still more sublime, and recited the following verses: (Rev. xx. 22.) "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heavens fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great,

<sup>2</sup> The following somewhat ungracious anecdote, which appears in the obituary notice of Dr Buchan, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, must have been contributed, we suspect, by a professional hand:—"A day or two after his decease, one gentleman said to another, 'The poor Doctor's gone!' The other replied, 'Do you know how Omnium is to-day?' A third, asking, 'Which would be most felt, Omnium or the loss of the Doctor?' was answered, 'Omnium would be felt by every body, on account of the taxes laid on to pay the interest of the loan; whereas the loss of the Doctor would not be generally felt.'"

stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which was the book of life:—And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works." Buchanan was very tender-hearted, insomuch, that when he heard a pathetic tale recounted, he could not abstain from weeping. He was equally subject to shed tears when his bosom was excited with joy, gratitude, and admiration. In his conversation, he was modest, mild, and unassuming, and distinguished by great affability; always the best and truest marks of a man of poetical genius. His poems and hymns, which have been repeatedly printed, are allowed to be equal to any in the Gaelic language for style, matter, and harmony of versification. The pieces entitled "La a' Bhreitheanais" and "an Claiginn" are the most celebrated, and are read with perfect enthusiasm by all Highlanders. Though the circumstances of this ingenious poet were of the humblest description, he was most religiously cheerful and contented under his lot. He died, on the 2nd of July, 1768, under very painful circumstances. On returning home from a long journey, he found two of his children lying sick of a fever. Shortly after, six more of them were seized by it, together with himself and two of his servants. While his family lay in this sad condition, his wife could prevail upon no one to engage in her service, and being herself in a peculiarly delicate condition, she was unable to do much for their comfort. The poor poet soon became delirious, and, in a few days, he and all his family were swept off, leaving only his wife to lament his fate, and her own melancholy condition.<sup>1</sup>

BUCHANAN, CLAUDIUS, D. D. Few persons have engaged with greater zeal, or met with greater success, in the business of the civilization of India, in spreading the knowledge of the Christian Religion through the eastern world, and in making Europeans better acquainted with that interesting country, than the Rev. Dr Buchanan, who was born at Cambuslang, on the 12th March, 1766. His father, Alexander Buchanan, followed the honourable profession of a school-master; and if we may judge from his success in life, he appears to have been a man of some abilities, and better qualified than ordinary teachers for the discharge of the peculiar duties of his office. Before his death, he was Rector of the Grammar School of Falkirk. His mother's name was — Somers, daughter of Mr Claudius Somers, who was an elder in the parish of Cambuslang. He is represented as having been one of those who received their first impressions of religion under the ministry of the Rev. Mr M'Culloch, the parish minister, and which were confirmed afterwards by the celebrated Mr George Whitfield. A certain class of Scottish dissenters publicly declared, that all such impressions were a delusion of the devil, and in the most abusive language reviled Whitfield, and all who defended his cause. But be this as it may, Mr Somers and a good many others became reformed characters; and during the course of a long life, gave undeniable evidence that they were better moral men and better members of society.

In 1773, Dr Buchanan was sent to Inverary, in the shire of Argyle, where he remained under the care of his father's relations till 1779. He was early sent to school; and besides being taught to read English, to write, and cast accounts, he was initiated into a knowledge of Latin. When only fourteen years of age, he was engaged to be tutor to the two sons of Campbell of Dunstaffnage. It is by no means an uncommon case in Scotland for young men to be employed, at that tender age, as domestic tutors in remote parts of the country, and at a dis-

<sup>1</sup> For the greater part of the information contained in this article I am indebted to "Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica, an Account of all the Books which have been printed in the Gaelic Language. By John Reid." Glasgow, 1832.

tance from any school. He continued in this situation for two years, and then repaired to the university of Glasgow, in 1782. Here his funds permitted him to remain only for two sessions. In 1784, he went to the island ofIslay, and was tutor in the family of Mr Campbell of Knockmelly. In the following year he removed to Carradell, in Kintyre, as tutor to Mr Campbell of Carradell. In 1786 he returned to Glasgow College, with the intention of prosecuting his studies there, preparatory to his commencing the study of divinity; for it had always been his intention to be a clergyman of the Church of Scotland. At the end of the session, however, he was struck with the strange and romantic idea of making a tour of Europe on foot. He seems to have been highly delighted with Dr Goldsmith's poetry, and particularly with his *Traveller*. Having perused some accounts of Goldsmith's adventures, he became inspired with a wish to attempt something of the same kind. He could not, like the poet of Auburn, play on the flute, but he was a tolerable performer on the fiddle, and he foolishly imagined, that with its assistance, he might be able to accomplish what he had so much at heart. He was a pretty good player of Scotch reels; and with this slender recommendation, and hardly any other provision against want, he determined to sally forth.

He accordingly left Edinburgh in the month of August, 1787. He had carefully concealed his design from his parents, lest it should be the occasion of giving them pain, for he seems to have been well aware in what light his imprudence would be viewed by others. What road he took, or how long he was on his journey between Edinburgh and Newcastle, is not known. But he arrived there, as it would seem, sufficiently disgusted with his undertaking; for, instead of directing his course to the capital by land, he embarked in a *collier* at North Shields, and sailed for the metropolis, where he arrived on the 2d of September. Here he was as much, if not more at a loss, than ever. At last, seeing an advertisement in a paper, that a clerk was wanted, after having suffered incredibly from hunger and cold, he applied and obtained this paltry appointment. By habits of industry and attention to business, he recommended himself to his employer, and after various incidents he at last engaged in the service of a solicitor, with whom he remained for nearly three years.

This employment, though exceedingly trifling, was sufficient to supply him food and clothes. He describes himself, at this period, as having little or no sense of religion upon his mind. He did not attend church regularly; and the Sunday was generally spent in idleness, though at no time of his life was he given to habits of dissipation. About this time he got acquainted with the Rev. John Newton of St Mary's, Woolnoth, London, the friend of Cowper, who introduced him to the celebrated Henry Thornton. This latter person, whose heart and fortune were alike bounteous, was the chief occasion of his being afterwards so successful and distinguished in life. As Mr Buchanan had now formed the resolution of becoming a clergyman, though he could not regularly enter the church of England, for want of a university education, Mr Thornton offered him the Chaplaincy of the Sierra Leone company, in which association he bore a leading part. The appointment was accepted by Mr Buchanan, but, for some unknown reason, was not acted upon. Mr Thornton, however, generously resolved not to leave his ward destitute or unprovided. He sent him to Queens' College, Cambridge, which was then conducted by his friend Dr Milner, Dean of Carlisle. Mr Buchanan was admitted into this Society in 1791, and in the 25th year of his age. It has been mentioned, that he was two sessions at the university of Glasgow, but it may be doubted whether this was of essential service to him, so different are the regulations, customs, and habits of the two establishments. He was disposed to enter as a *Sizar*, that is a scholar of the lowest



rank, the same as *Servitor* at Oxford; but it was arranged that he should be admitted as a pensioner, or a scholar who pays for his Commons. He distinguished himself at College by great assiduity, and though his mind does not appear to have had any particular bent to the science of quantity, he devoted some attention to the favourite pursuit of the university, the higher branches of mathematics. Having got a theme or subject to write upon in Latin, he succeeded so well as to gain the most marked commendation of his superiors; and he was appointed to declaim in Latin upon the 5th of November, which is always esteemed by the students as a singular honour—this day being one of the most solemn festivals of the year. He was also appointed, about the same time, Librarian to the College, an office of which the duties were more honourable than severe; and he was the senior wrangler of his year.

About the year 1794, the Rev. John Newton proposed to him a voyage to India. The precise nature of this proposal is not stated; but it might only be a hint to him to turn in his mind how he would relish such an appointment. His education being now complete, he was, in September, 1795, regularly ordained deacon of the church of England, by Bishop Porteus. He was immediately admitted curate to Mr Newton, which was his first appointment. On 30th March, 1796, he was appointed Chaplain to the East India Company, through the interest of the director, Mr Charles Grant, who continued to patronise him through life. Dr Milner and others now recommended him a second time to the Bishop of London, from whom he received Priest's orders, so that he was qualified to accept of any situation in the English establishment. In the month of May he went to Scotland, in order to take leave of his relations before setting out for India. He immediately returned to England, and left Portsmouth for Bengal, 11th August 1796. Landing at Calcutta, he was soon sent into the interior to Barrackpore, where he resided for some time. India was to him a scene perfectly new: at this period hardly any decency was observed in the outward relations of life. There was no divine service at Barrackpore, and horse-racing was practised on Sunday. Of course it was an excellent field for the exertions of a Christian minister. Mr Buchanan having been appointed third chaplain to the presidency in Calcutta, by Lord Mornington, preached so much to the satisfaction of his audience, that he received thanks from the Governor General in council. The plan of a Collegiate Institution had been for some time under the consideration of his lordship. In 1800, it was formally established by a minute in council, and vested in a provost and vice-provost, with three other officers. There were also to be established professorships in the languages spoken in India, in Hindoo, and Mahomedan laws, in the negotiations and laws enacted at the several presidencies for the civil government of the British territories—in Political Economy, Commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company, and in various branches of literature and science. Some of the learned natives attached to the college, were employed in teaching the students, others in making translations, and others in composing original works in the Oriental tongues. This institution, which has been of immense service to British India, was called the College of Fort William. Mr Buchanan was professor of the Greek, Latin, and English classics. The translation of the original Scriptures from the originals into modern languages had always been with him a favourite scheme. To effect a similar purpose, he proposed prizes to be competed for by the universities, and some of the public schools in the United Kingdom. These were afterwards more fully explained in a memoir by him, in 1805. A translation of the Bible into the Chinese language was also patronized by him. In the course of the same year, he wrote

an account of the College of Fort William ; and the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of D. D.

In May, 1806, he undertook a journey to the coast of Malabar, and returned to Calcutta in 1807. He paid a second visit to Malabar, and powerfully assisted in procuring a version of the Scriptures into Malayalim. In March, 1808, he undertook a voyage to Europe. Second prizes of £.500 each were offered by him to Oxford and Cambridge ; and in pursuance of his proposals, sermons were preached at both universities.

In September, 1808, Dr Buchanan undertook a journey into Scotland, where he had the gratification of finding his mother in good health. He preached in the episcopal chapel at Glasgow, and mentions that the people came in crowds to hear him, " notwithstanding the *organ*." He observed a more tolerant spirit among the different orders of religion in Scotland than what formerly prevailed. On his return, he preached, at Bristol, his celebrated sermon, " The Star in the East," which was the first of that series of able and well-directed efforts by which, in pursuance of a resolution formed in India, he endeavoured to cherish and extend the interest he had already excited for the promotion of Christianity in the east. In spring, 1809, he spent some days at Oxford, collating oriental versions of the bible. He next paid a visit to Cambridge, where he deposited some valuable biblical manuscripts, which he had collected in India. The university honoured him with the degree of D.D. About this period, he preached regularly for some time in Wilbeck chapel, London, after which he retired to Kirby Hall, in Yorkshire, the seat of his father-in-law, Henry Thompson, Esq. His health now began to decline, and as he was advised by his physicians to study less unremittingly, he formed the idea of uniting the recovery of his health, and some share of continued usefulness, by travelling to the Holy Land, and endeavouring to re-establish the gospel on its native ground. This design, however, he never executed. Various paralytic affections, which, one after another, fell upon his frame, admonished him that the day of active exertion with him was past. He was nevertheless able, within the course of a few years, to publish the following works : 1, Three Jubilee Sermons ; 2, Annual Missionary Sermon, before the Church Missionary Society, June 12, 1810 ; 3, Commencement Sermons at Cambridge ; 4, Christian Researches in Asia ; 5, Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India ; 6, Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment.

He had been twice married, but survived both of his spouses. He ultimately went to reside at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, to superintend a Syriac edition of the New Testament. Here he died, February 9, 1815, while his task was still incomplete, at the early age of forty-eight. The exertions of this amiable and exemplary man in propagating the Christian religion in India, will long keep his name in grateful remembrance, among all to whom the interests of religion are in the least endeared.

BUCHANAN, FRANCIS, M. D. author of *Travels in the Mysore, a History of Nepal, &c.* was born at Branziet, in Stirlingshire, February 15th, 1762. He was the third son of Dr Thomas Buchanan of Spital, who afterwards succeeded as heir of entail to the estate of Leney, in Perthshire, and Elizabeth Hamilton heiress of Bardowie, near Glasgow. As a younger brother he was, of course, destined to a profession. He chose that of his father ; and after the finishing the elementary parts of his classical education with considerable credit, at the Grammar School of Glasgow, he commenced his medical studies at the university, where he remained till he had received his diploma. Glasgow college has always enjoyed a high reputation for literature and ethics ; but, with the exception, perhaps, of the department of anatomy, its fame, as a medical school, has

never equalled that of Edinburgh. During the latter part of the eighteenth century especially, the capital enjoyed a reputation for medical science scarcely inferior to that of any medical school in Europe. Its degrees were eagerly desired by students from all parts of Great Britain, and from many parts of the continent, and its diploma was available in almost every part of the world as a powerful letter of recommendation. Buchanan was anxious to secure for himself the advantage of pursuing his professional studies under the eminent professors, who, at that time, more than sustained the high reputation which Edinburgh college had already acquired. Here he remained till he received his degree in 1783. He soon after was appointed assistant-surgeon on board a man-of-war, a situation from which he was afterwards obliged to retire on account of ill health. He now spent some years at home, in the country, his health being so bad as to disqualify him for all active exertion, till 1794, when he received an appointment as surgeon in the East India Company's service, on the Bengal establishment. The voyage to India completely restored his health, and on his arrival he was sent with Captain Symes on his mission to the court of Ava. In the course of his medical studies, Dr Buchanan had paid particular attention to botany, and its cognate branches of natural science; and during his present visit to the Birman Empire, he had an opportunity of making some valuable collections of the plants of Pegu, Ava, and the Andaman Islands, which, together with several interesting drawings, he transmitted to the court of directors, by whom they were presented to Sir Joseph Banks. On his return from Ava, he was stationed at Luckipoor, near the mouth of the Burrampooter, where he remained two years, principally occupied in describing the fishes found in the neighbourhood.

In 1798, he was employed by the board of trade at Calcutta, on the recommendation of Dr Roxburgh, superintendent of the botanical garden, to visit the district of Chatigang and its neighbourhood, forming the chief part of the ancient kingdom of Tripura. The extensive and well-watered districts of India beyond the Ganges, afforded him a wide and rich field for pursuing his favourite study. The numerous specimens which he collected in this interesting country were also transmitted to Sir Joseph Banks, and added to his collection. Part of the following year, Dr Buchanan spent in describing the fishes of the Ganges, of which he afterwards published an account.

In 1800, he was employed by Marquis Wellesley, then governor-general of India, to examine the state of the country which the company's forces had lately conquered from Tippoo Sultan, together with the province of Malabar. The results of his inquiries in the Carnatic and Mysore he afterwards, on his return to England, in 1807, published under the patronage of the court of directors. This work, "*Travels in the Mysore*," &c., extending to three large quarto volumes, illustrated with maps and drawings, contains much valuable information concerning the agriculture, laws, customs, religious sects, history, &c., of India generally, and particularly of the interior dependencies of Madras. In criticising the work the Edinburgh reviewers observe, "Those who will take the trouble to peruse Dr Buchanan's book, will certainly obtain a far more accurate and correct notion of the actual condition and appearance of India, and of its existing arts, usages, and manners, than could be derived from all the other books relating to it in existence." The reviewer adds still more valuable praise—a praise not always deserved by travellers in countries comparatively little known.—when he acknowledges that "every thing the author has seen is described perspicuously, unaffectedly, and, beyond all question, with the strictest veracity." *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xiii. Oct. 1808.

Soon after Dr Buchanan had finished his survey of the Mysore country, he

changed the scene of his labours from the south to the north-east of Hindoostan, being appointed, in 1802, to accompany the embassy to Nepal, conducted by Captain Knox. In the course of this journey, and his subsequent residence in Nepal, he made large additions to his former collections of rare plants; which, with descriptions and numerous drawings, he transmitted to Mr J. E. Smith. It was during this period also that he collected the greater part of the materials for his "History of Nepal," which he published in 1818, some years after he had retired from the Company's service. On his return from Nepal he was appointed surgeon to the governor-general, and he employed such leisure time as he had for the study of natural history, in superintending the menagerie founded by the Marquis Wellesley, and in describing the animals which it contained. Of Lord Wellesley Dr Buchanan always spoke in terms of high admiration and devoted attachment; he considered his government in India as being not less wise and beneficent, than it was eminently successful. Undoubtedly India owes much to this distinguished nobleman; and it would have been happy, both for her native population, and her merchant princes, had her government been always intrusted to men of such practical capacity and unblemished integrity. In 1805, Dr Buchanan accompanied his noble patron to England; and, in the following year, was again sent to India by the court of directors, for the purpose of making a statistical survey of the territory under the presidency of Fort William, which comprehends Bengal Proper and several of the adjoining districts. With this laborious undertaking he was occupied for upwards of seven years, after which he returned to Calcutta; and, on the death of Dr Roxburgh, in 1814, succeeded him as superintendant of the botanical garden, having been appointed successor to that respectable botanist by the Court of Directors so early as 1807. But he was now exhausted with long continued exertion: his services had been liberally rewarded by the East India Company; an independant and honourably acquired fortune relieved him from the necessity of encountering any longer the hardships incident to his former mode of life, among tribes half-civilized, and often somewhat less than half-friendly, and exposed to the malignant influence of Indian climate; and he naturally wished to enjoy the close of a busy life, free from the responsibility and inquietudes of public service, in some peaceful retirement in his native land.

While he was preparing for his voyage home, he was deprived, by the Marquis of Hastings, of all the botanical drawings which had been made under his inspection, during his last stay in India, and which he intended to have deposited with his other collections in the library of the India house. This circumstance he greatly regretted, as he feared that the drawings would thus be totally lost to the public. "To me," says Dr Buchanan, in a paper which was published among the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, "to me, as an individual, they were of no value, as I preserve no collection, and as I have no occasion to convert them into money."

On his arrival in England in 1815, he presented to the court of Directors, his collection of plants and minerals, some papers on the geography of Ava, several genealogical tables, nine hundred Indian coins, gold and silver, a collection of Indian drugs, his notes on Natural History, a few drawings, and about twenty curious hindoo MSS. He then proceeded to Scotland, where he hoped to enjoy the fruits of his toil in quiet. On his arrival, he found his elder brother, Colonel Hamilton, involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he could only be partially relieved by the sale of such parts of the family estates as had not been entailed. Dr Buchanan, who was himself next heir, Colonel Hamilton having no children, agreed to pay his brother's debts, which amounted altogether to upwards of £15,000. His brother soon after died abroad, whither

he had gone in the hope of recovering his health, and Dr Buchanan, succeeding him in his estates, adopted his mother's family name of Hamilton. He now fixed his residence at Leney, where he amused himself with adding to the natural beauties of one of the loveliest spots in Perthshire, such improvements as a cultivated taste and an ample fortune enabled him to supply. In this sweet retirement he still found pleasure in prosecuting the studies and scientific pursuits which had engrossed the busier part of his life. His garden occupied much of his attention; he introduced into his grounds many curious plants, shrubs, and flowers; he contributed largely to the scientific journals of the day, particularly the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, the transactions of the *Linnæan Society of London*, the *Memoirs of the Hibernian Natural History Society*, and the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. Also in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* are several papers taken from his statistical survey of the provinces under the Presidency of Fort William, deposited in the Library of the East India Company: these papers, at the instance of Dr Buchanan were liberally communicated to the Society, accompanied with explanations by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., one of the Directors. In 1819, he published his *History of the Kingdom of Nepal*, already mentioned, and in the same year a *Genealogy of the Hindoo Gods*, which he had drawn up some years before with the assistance of an intelligent Brahman. In 1822 appeared his *Account of the Fishes of the Ganges*, with plates.

Dr Buchanan was connected with several distinguished literary and scientific societies. He was a member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta—a fellow of the Royal Society, the Linnæan Society, and Society of Antiquaries of London—an ordinary member of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries—a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh—a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. In 1826, he was appointed a deputy lieutenant for Perthshire, and took a warm interest in the politics of the day. His own principles were Tory, and he was not a little apt to be violent and overbearing in discussion with men of the opposite party. But although hasty in his temper and violent in his politics, Dr Buchanan was of a generous and liberal disposition: he was extremely charitable to the poor, warm in his personal attachments, and just and honourable in his public capacity of magistrate. He married late in life, and fondness for the society of his children, joined with studious habits, left him little leisure or inclination for mixing in the gayeties of the fashionable world. He lived, however, on terms of good understanding and easy intercourse with his neighbours. His own high attainments and extensive information eminently qualified him for enjoying the conversation and appearing to advantage in the society of men of liberal education, and to such his house was always open. His intimate acquaintance with oriental manners, geography, and history, made his conversation interesting and instructive; his unobtrusive manners, his sober habits, his unostentatious and unaffected hospitality made him an agreeable companion and a good neighbour; while the warmth and steadiness of his attachments rendered his friendship valuable. The following high estimate of his character we find in Dr Robertson's statistical account of the Parish of Callander, so early as the year 1793. 'The most learned person who is known to have belonged to this parish is Dr Francis Buchanan, at present in the East Indies. In classical and medical knowledge he has few equals, and he is well acquainted with the whole system of nature.' Dr Buchanan carried on an extensive correspondence with men of eminence in the literary and scientific world; he repeatedly received the public thanks of the Court of Directors, and of the Governor-General in council, for his useful collections and his information

on Indian affairs; and when his former patron Marquis Wellesley went as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland he was solicited to accompany him in an official capacity—an offer which his declining health and love of domestic quiet induced him to decline. Dr Buchanan died, June 15th, 1829, in the 67th year of his age.

BUCHANAN, GEORGE, one of the most distinguished reformers, political and religious, of the sixteenth century, and the best Latin poet which modern Europe has produced, was born in the parish of Killearn, Stirlingshire, in February, 1506, “of a family,” to use his own words, “more ancient than wealthy.” His father, Thomas, was the second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drumikill, from whom he inherited the farm of Moss, on the western bank of the water of Blane, the house where, though it has been several times rebuilt, still, in honour of the subject of this memoir, preserves its original shape, and dimensions, with a considerable portion of its original materials. His mother was Agnes Heriot of the family of Tabroun in East Lothian. The Buchanans of Drumikill were highly respectable, being a branch of the family of Buchanan of Buchanan, which place they held by charter as far back as the reign of Malcom III. Antiquity of descent, however, is no preservative against poverty, of which our poet’s family had their full share, for the bankruptcy of his grandfather, the laird of Drumikill, and the death of his father while in the flower of his age, left George Buchanan, when yet a child, with four brothers and three sisters, with no provision for their future subsistence but their mother’s industry. She appears, however, to have been a woman of excellent qualities; and by the prudent management of the farm, which she retained in her own hands, brought up her family in a respectable manner, and had the satisfaction of seeing them all comfortably settled. George, the third son, received the rudiments of his education in the school of his native village, which was at that time one of the most celebrated in Scotland; and having at an early period given indications of genius, his maternal uncle, James Heriot, was induced to undertake the care and expence of his education; and, in order to give him every possible advantage, sent him, in 1520, when fifteen years of age, to prosecute his studies in the university of Paris. Here he studied with the greatest diligence, and impelled, as he has himself told us, partly by his inclination, and partly by the necessity of performing the exercises of his class, put forth the first blossom of a poetical genius that was afterwards to bear the rich fruits of immortality. Scarcely, however, had his bright morning dawned when it became suddenly overcast. Before he had completed his second year, his uncle died, leaving him in a foreign land, exposed to all the miseries of poverty, aggravated by bodily infirmity, occasioned, most probably, by the severity of his studies, for, at the same time that he was in public competing with the greatest talent of the several nations of Europe, who, as to a common fountain, were assembled at this far famed centre of learning, he was teaching himself Greek, in which he was latterly a great proficient. He was now obliged to return home, and for upwards of a twelvemonth was incapable of applying to any business. In 1523, he joined the auxiliaries brought over from France by Albany, then Regent of Scotland; and served as a private soldier in one campaign against the English. He tells us that he took this step from a desire to learn the art of war; but perhaps necessity was as strong a prompter as military ardour. Whatever were his motives, he marched with the army commanded by the Regent in person, who entered England and laid siege to the castle of Werk, in the end of October, 1523. Repulsed in all his attempts on the place, Albany, from the disaffection among his troops and the daily increasing strength of the enemy, soon found himself under the necessity of re-crossing the Tweed; and being overtaken by a

severe snow storm in a night march toward Lauder, lost a great part of his army; Buchanan escaped, but, completely cured of his warlike enthusiasm, if any such sentiment ever inspired him, was confined the rest of the winter to his bed. In the ensuing spring, being considerably recovered, and having completed his eighteenth year, he was sent to the university of St Andrews to attend the prelections of John Mair, or Major, who at that time, according to his celebrated pupil, "taught logic, or, more properly, the art of sophistry," in St Salvator's college. Buchanan's eldest brother, Patrick, was matriculated at the same time. Having continued one session at St Andrews, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 3d of October, 1525, being then, as appears from the college registers, a pauper or exhibitioner, he accompanied Major to France the following summer. Mackenzie says, that, on account of his great merits and at the same time his great poverty, Major sent for him, in 1524, and took him into his house as a servant, in which capacity it was that Buchanan went with him to Paris, and remained with him two years; but this has been regarded by the vindicators of Buchanan as a story set forth for the purpose of fixing a charge of ingratitude upon the poet, for an epigram which he wrote upon one of Major's productions, and in which his old instructor is termed "solo cognomine major."

On returning to France, Buchanan became a student in the Scots college of Paris, and in March was incorporated a bachelor of Arts—the degree of Master of Arts he received in April, 1528. In June the following year he was elected procurator for the German nation, one of the four classes, into which the students were divided, and which included those from Scotland. The principles of the Reformation were by this time widely extended on the continent, and every where excited the most eager discussion. Upon Buchanan's ardent and generous mind they made a powerful impression, and it was not in his nature to conceal it. Yet he seems to have acted with considerable caution, and was in no haste to renounce the established forms of worship, whence we conclude that the reported mortifications he is said to have met with at this time and on that account, are without foundation. At the end of two years he was elected a professor in the college of St Barbe, where he taught grammar three years; and, if we may believe himself, his remuneration was such as to render his circumstances at least comparatively comfortable. It appears to have been in 1529, that this office was conferred upon him; he was consequently only in his twenty-third year. Soon after entering on his professorship, Buchanan attracted the notice of Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis, then residing in Paris, whither he had been sent to prosecute his studies, as the Scottish nobility at that period generally were; and at the end of three years Buchanan was engaged to devote his time entirely to the care of the young Earl's education. With this nobleman he resided as a preceptor for five years; and to him, as "a youth of promising talents and excellent disposition," he inscribed his first published work, a translation of Linacre's rudiments of Latin grammar, which was printed by the learned Robert Stephens, in 1533.

In 1536, James V. made a matrimonial excursion to France, where he found the earl of Cassillis, who had just finished his education. James having, on the 1st of January, 1537, married Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., returned to Scotland in May, bringing with him Cassillis and George Buchanan. This accounts for the future intimacy between the latter person and the king, which in the end was like to have had a tragical termination. The connexion between Buchanan and the earl seems, however, not to have been immediately dissolved; for it was while residing at the house of his pupil, that the poet composed *Somnium* or the *Dream*, apparently an imitation of a poem of Dunbar's,

entitled "How Dunbar was desyred to be ane frier," and a bitter satire upon the impudence and hypocrisy of the Franciscans. This piece of raillery excited the utmost hostility on the part of its objects, and to avoid their vengeance, which he had every reason to dread, Buchanan had determined to retire to Paris, where he hoped to be able to resume his former situation in the college of St Barbe. James V., however, took him under his protection, and retained him as preceptor to his natural son James Stuart, not the prior of St Andrews, whose mother was of the family of Mar, but one of the same baptismal name who held the abbacies of Melrose and Kelso, and whose mother was Elizabeth Schaw, of the family of Sauchie, and who died in the year 1548. James, who about this time was not satisfied with the conduct of the clergy, in regard to a conspiracy against his life, said to have been entered into by some of the nobility, sent for Buchanan, and not aware that he had already rendered himself obnoxious to the Franciscans, commanded him to write a satire against them. Wishing to gratify the king, and yet give as little additional ground of offence to the friars as possible, Buchanan wrote his *Palinodia* in two parts, a covert satire, which he hoped might afford no ground of open complaint to those against whom it was directed. The king, himself a poet coarse and licentious, did not at all relish this delicate kind of irony, and it wounded the ecclesiastics still more painfully than its predecessor the *Somnium*; so that, as it usually happens in an attempt to please one party without offending the other, the poet's labour proved vain. Finding it impossible to propitiate the friars, and the king still insisting upon their vices being fully and fairly exposed, he at last gave full scope to his indignation at the impudence, ignorance, impiety, and sensuality that distinguished the whole order, almost without an individual exception, in his poem entitled "*Franciscanus*," one of the most pungent satires to be found in any language. In this composition Buchanan had little occasion to exercise his fancy, facts were so abundant. He had but to embody in flowing language, what was passing before all men's eyes, and depict the clergy as the most contemptible and the most depraved of human beings, who, besides being robbers of the poor, lived, the far greater part of them, in the open and avowed practice of the most loathsome debauchery. Still they were the most powerful body in the state; and after the death of Magdalene, who had been bred under her aunt, the queen of Navarre, a protestant, and was friendly to the cause, they gained an entire ascendancy over the too facile King, who had not the grace to protect the tutor of his son from the effects of their rage, occasioned by poems that had been written at his own express command. Towards the end of the year 1538, measures were taken for the total suppression of the new opinions, and in February following, five persons were committed to the flames; nine saved their lives by burning their bills, as it was called, or in other words recanting. Among the rest George Buchanan was on this occasion seized, and to secure ample vengeance upon him, Cardinal Beaton offered the king a sum of money for his life; a piece of supererogatory wickedness, for which there was not the smallest occasion, as the prejudices of his judges would infallibly have secured his condemnation, had he been brought before any of their tribunals; but aware of the mortal enmity of his accusers, he fled into England. By the way he happily escaped a pestilential distemper, which was at that time desolating the north of England, and when he arrived in London, experienced the protection of an English knight, Sir John Rainsford, who both supplied his immediate necessities, and protected him from the fury of the papists, to whom he was now every where obnoxious. On this occasion it was that he addressed himself to Henry VIII. and to his minister Cromwell, both of whom treated him with neglect. Several of his little pieces written at this time attest the straits to which he was reduced. England at that period had few at-



tractions for a Scotman; and it must have been peculiarly galling to the lefty spirit of Buchanan, after stooping to solicit patronage among the natural enemies of his country, to find his efforts despised, and his necessities disregarded. Meeting with so little encouragement there, he passed over to Paris, where he was well known, and had many acquaintances. But here to his dismay he found Cardinal Beaton resident as ambassador from the Scottish court. This circumstance rendered it extremely unsafe for him to remain; happily he was invited to Bourdeaux by Andrew Govea, a Portuguese, principal of the college of Guienne, lately founded in that city, through whose interest he was appointed professor of humanity in that afterwards highly famed seminary. Here Buchanan remained for three years, during which he completed four Tragedies, besides composing a number of poems on miscellaneous subjects. He was all this while the object of the unwearied enmity of Cardinal Beaton and the Franciscans, who still threatened his life. The Cardinal at one time wrote to the bishop of Bourdeaux, commanding him to secure the person of the heretical poet, which might perhaps have been done; but the letter falling into the hands of one of the poet's friends, was detained till the appearance of a pestilence in Guienne absorbed every lesser concern. The death of James V. following soon after, with the distractions consequent on that event, gave the Cardinal more than enough to do at home without taking cognizance of heretics abroad. Among his pupils at Bourdeaux, Buchanan numbered the celebrated Michael de Montagne, who was an actor in every one of his dramas; and among his friends were not only his fellow professors, but all the men of literature and science in the city and neighbourhood. One of the most illustrious of these was the elder Scaliger, who resided and practised as a physician at Agin; at his house Buchanan and the other professors used to spend part of their vacations. Here they were hospitably entertained, and in their society Scaliger seems not only to have forgot, as he himself acknowledges, the tortures of the gout, but, what was more extraordinary, his natural talent for contradiction. The many excellent qualities of this eminent scholar, and the grateful recollection of his conversational talents, Buchanan has preserved in an elegant Latin Epigram, apparently written at the time when he was about to quit this seat of the muses, to enter upon new scenes of difficulty and danger. The younger Scaliger was but a boy when Buchanan visited at his father's house; but he inherited all his father's admiration of the Scottish poet, whom he declared to be decidedly superior to all the Latin poets of those times. After having resided three years at Bourdeaux, and conferred lustre upon its University by the splendour of his talents, Buchanan removed, for reasons which we are not acquainted with, to Paris; and in 1544, we find him one of the regents in the college of Cardinal le Moire, which station he seems to have held till 1547. There he had for his associates, among other highly respectable names, the celebrated Turnebus and Muretus. By a Latin elegy addressed to his late colleagues Tasterus and Tevius, we learn that about this period he had a severe attack of the gout, and that he had been under the medical care of Carolus Stephanus, who was a doctor of physic of the faculty of Paris, and, like several of his relations, was equally distinguished as a scholar and as a printer. In the same elegy, Buchanan commemorates the kindness of his colleagues, particularly of Gelida, an amiable and learned Spaniard, less eminent for talents than Buchanan's other colleagues, Turnebus and Muretus, but as a man of true moral worth and excellence, at least equal to the former and vastly superior to the latter, who, though a man of splendid talents, was worthless in the extreme. To Muretus, Buchanan addressed a copy of verses on a Tragedy written by him in his youth, entitled *Julius Cæsar*; but Muretus had not as yet put forth those

monstrosities of character, that ought long ago to have buried his name in oblivion.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1547 Buchanan again shifted his place, and, along with his Portuguese friend, Andrew Govea, passed into Portugal. Govea, with two brothers, had been sent for his education into France, by John III. of Portugal, who having now founded the university of Coimbra, recalled him to take the principal superintendence of the infant establishment. Aware, at the same time, that his whole kingdom could not furnish a sufficiency of learned men to fill the various chairs, his majesty commissioned Govea to bring a number of learned men with him for that purpose. The persons selected were George Buchanan, his elder brother Patrick, Gruchius, Geruntæus, Tevius, and Vinetus, all of whom had already distinguished themselves by the publication of learned works. Arnoldus Fabricius, John Costa, and Anthony Mendez, the two latter natives of Portugal, completed the establishment, and all of them, Patrick Buchanan and Fabricius excepted, had, under Govea, been teachers in the college of Guienne. France, at this period, threatened to be the scene of great convulsions, and Buchanan regarded this retirement to Portugal as an exceedingly fortunate circumstance, and for a short time his expectations were fully realized. Govea, however, died in less than a twelvemonth, and, deprived of his protection, the poor professors soon found themselves exposed to the jealousy of the natives on account of being foreigners, and to the unrelenting bigotry of the priests because they were scholars. Three of their number were very soon immured in the dungeons of the inquisition, and, after a tedious confinement, brought before that tribunal, which, unable to convict them of any crime, overwhelmed them with reproaches, and remanded them to their dungeons, without permitting them so much as to know who were their accusers. Buchanan did not escape his share of this persecution. Franciscanus was again revived against him, though the inquisitors knew nothing of that poem; for he had never parted with a copy, save that which he gave to his own king, James V., and he had taken care to have the whole affair properly explained to the Portuguese monarch before he set foot in his dominions. He was also charged with eating flesh in Lent, a practice quite common in Portugal at that time, and with having asserted that Augustine's opinion of the Eucharist coincided with the protestant rather than with the Romish views on the subject, and two witnesses were found to declare that he was an enemy to the Roman faith. More merciful than on many other occasions, the inquisition, after dealing with Buchanan for upwards of a year and a half, sentenced him to be confined in a monastery for some months, that he might by the inmates be better instructed in the principles and practice of religion. Fortunately, the monks to whose care Buchanan was thus consigned were not without humanity, though he found them utterly ignorant of religion; and he consoled himself by planning, and in part executing, his unrivalled paraphrase of the Psalms of David, which placed him immeasurably above all modern Latin poets, and will transmit his name with honour and admiration to the latest posterity. That this was a task imposed upon him by his ghostly guardians, is an idle tale totally devoid of foundation. The probability is that the poor monks were incapable of appreciating his labours, but he seems to have gained their good will, for he was restored to his liberty, and soliciting the king's permission to return to France, was requested to remain, and pre-

<sup>1</sup> Of Muretus's impious book, *De Tribus Impostoribus*, or the three impostors, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, a late biographer of Buchanan has said "it is extremely evident that such a book never existed." We are informed, however, that a copy exists in the MS. collection of the University of Glasgow.

sented with a small sum of money for subsistence till a situation worthy of his talents should be found.

After having suffered so much from the inquisition, Buchanan could not be very ambitious of Portuguese preferment, and the promise of the king not being likely to be hastily fulfilled, he embarked in a Greek vessel at Lisbon and sailed for England. To England, however, he certainly had no partiality; and though Edward VI. was now on the throne, and doing all he could to advance the work of reformation, and though some very advantageous offers were made to induce him to settle in that country, he proceeded direct to France, where he arrived in the beginning of 1553. It was at this time that Buchanan wrote his poem, *Adventus in Galliam*, in which his contempt and resentment of the Portuguese, and the treatment he had received, together with his affection for the French nation, are strongly expressed. Perhaps it would be too much to say that the French nation was attached to Buchanan, but many individuals of it certainly were, and immediately on his arrival in Paris he was appointed to a regency in the college of Boncourt. In this station he remained till 1555, when he was engaged by the celebrated Comte de Brissac, to act as domestic tutor to his son, Timoleon de Cosse. To this nobleman he had addressed a poetical tribute after the capture of Vercelli, an event which occurred in September, 1553; and to him also he dedicated his tragedy of *Jepthes* in the summer of 1554. The Comte, who seems not to have been insensible to this species of flattery, next year called the poet into Italy, where he himself presided over the French dominions, and charged him with the education of his son. Though much of his time had been spent amidst the tumults of war, the Marshal de Brissac was a man of a liberal mind, who, living in a state of princely magnificence, cultivated an acquaintance with the most eminent scholars. During his campaigns he had often been accompanied by men of learning, and had the discernment to discover in the preceptor of his son, powers of mind equal to any station in society. He therefore treated him with the utmost deference, often placing him at the council board among his principal officers, and on the most important occasions thought it no discredit to take the benefit of his superior sagacity. When committed to the tuition of Buchanan, Timoleon de Cosse was only twelve years of age, and he parted with him at the age of seventeen. He was afterwards distinguished for his bravery, for his acquaintance with military science, and his literary attainments were such as reflected honour on a young nobleman destined for the profession of arms. His short but brilliant career terminated at the siege of Mucidan, where he fell by a musket ball, aged only twenty-six years. During the five years of his connexion with this illustrious family, Buchanan's residence was alternately in France and Italy, and as his pupil was destined to the profession of arms, and had different masters to attend him, he found leisure for prosecuting his poetical studies, and formed the design, and composed part of his philosophical poem *De Sphæra*, which he addressed to his pupil. His future avocations prevented him from completing this poem. He likewise published the first specimen of his version of the Psalms, and his translation of the *Alcestes* of Euripides, which he inscribed to Margaret, daughter of Francis I., a munificent princess, afterwards married to the Duke of Savoy. His ode on the surrender of Calais was also composed while in Brissac's family. But much of his spare time was employed in a manner still more important—in examining the grounds of his religious belief, and settling to his own satisfaction the great question (that has ever since, more or less, agitated Europe) between the Romish and the reformed churches. That he had all along inclined to the side of the reformed, is indisputable; but he had never relinquished his connexion with the ancient church,

which he had probably thought still right in the main, though disfigured and disgraced by the figments and the follies of an ignorant and corrupt priesthood. The result of this examination, however, was a perfect conviction that many of the Romish doctrines were erroneous; that the worship was idolatrous; and the discipline utterly depraved and perverted; and, consequently, that the necessity of separation from this church was imperative upon all who had any regard to the Word of God and the salvation of their own souls: and no sooner did he arrive in Scotland than he acted accordingly.

As Buchanan's connexion with the Marshal de Brissac terminated in 1560, when the civil wars in France had already begun, he probably returned immediately to Scotland, though the exact period has not been ascertained. He had courted, while he resided in France, the notice of Mary, by an Epithalamium on her marriage with the Dauphin; and in January, 1561-2, we find Randolph, the English ambassador, writing thus from Edinburgh to his employers: "Ther is with the quene [Mary] one called George Bowhanan a Scottishe man very well learned, that was Schollemaster unto Mons<sup>r</sup> de Brissacks son, very Godlye and honest." And in a subsequent letter, dated from St Andrews, he says, "the quene readeth daylie after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr George Bowhanan, somewhat of Livy." Mary had been sent to France in the sixth year of her age, and her education had in some respects been carefully attended to. She spoke Scottish and French, as if both had been her vernacular tongue, which in some degree they might be said to be. With Italian and Spanish she was familiar, and she was so much a master of Latin as to compose and pronounce in that language, before a splendid auditory, a declamation against the opinion of those who would debar the sex from the liberal pursuits of science and literature. This oration she afterwards translated into French, but neither the translation nor the original has been published. Mary was at this time in the full bloom of youth and beauty, and to have such a pupil must have been highly gratifying to Buchanan, who, with all the leaders of the reformation in Scotland, was at first much attached to her. This attachment he took occasion to express in a highly finished copy of Latin verses, prefixed to his translation of the Psalms, which he had just finished, and sent to the press of his friend Henry Stephens. The exact date of the first full edition of this important work is not known, no date being on the title; but a second edition was printed in 1566, in which was included the author's tragedy of Jephthes. On the titlepage of both these impressions, Buchanan is styled *Poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps*, and the paraphrase was recommended by copies of Greek verses by the printer, Henry Stephens, one of the first scholars of the age, by Franciscus Portus, and Fredricus Jamotius, and in Latin verses by Henry Stephens and Castlevetro. Mary must have been highly pleased by a compliment which carried her fame over all Europe, and as a reward for his services, bestowed upon her preceptor and poet, in 1564, the temporalities of the abbey of Crossraguell, vacant by the death of Quintin Kennedy, brother to Buchanan's former pupil, the Earl of Cassillis. These temporalities were valued at five hundred pounds Scots a-year, and the poet seems to have held them till the day of his death. Mary's love of power, and her attachment to popery, soon, however, alienated the affections of her friends; and, aware that he held her favour by a precarious tenure, Buchanan sedulously cultivated the friendship of the leaders of the reformation, which was now become the first object of his solicitude. In the same year in which he was promoted to the temporalities of Crossraguell, he prepared for the press a collection of satires, "*Fratres Fraterrimi*," in which the fooleries and impurities of the popish church were treated with the keenest irony, and

assailed with the most vehement invective. He also now put the finishing hand to his *Franciscanus*, which he published, with a dedication to his friend and patron, the Earl of Murray. Through the interest of this nobleman, Buchanan was nominated to be principal of St Leonard's college, St Andrews, in 1566. In November this year, his name appears as one of the auditors of the faculty questor's accounts in the university of St Andrew's, where he had now fixed his residence. The chamber which he occupied, as principal of St Leonard's, is now part of a private dwelling house, and is supposed to have undergone scarcely any transformation. The following inventory of its furniture, in 1544, has been preserved:—"Twa standard beds, the foreside of aik and the northside and the fuits of fir—Item ane feather bed and ane white plaid of four ells and ane covering woven o'er with images—Item another auld bed of harden filled with straw with ane covering of green—Item ane cod—Item ane inrower of buckram of five breeds part green part red to zailow—Item ane Hunters counter of the middlin kind—Item ane little buird for the studzie—Item ane furm of fir and ane little letterin of aik on the side of the bed with ane image of St Jerom—Item ane stool of elm with ane other chair of little pine—Item ane chimney weighing \*\*\*—Item ane chandler weighing \*\*\*." In 1566, and the two ensuing years, he was one of the four electors of the rector, and by each of the three officers who were successively chosen was nominated a pro-rector; and in the public register he is denominated by the honourable title which, in publishing his *Psalms*, Stephanus had bestowed on him. As principal of the college, he delivered occasional prelections on theology, as well as at the weekly meetings of the clergy and other learned men of the district, held for expounding the Scriptures, then styled the exercise of prophesying, and in the general assembly of the Scottish church he sat as a doctor from the year 1563 to 1567, in which last year he had the honour of being chosen moderator. This same year he published another collection, consisting of *Elegiæ Silvæ Hendecasyllabi*, to which was prefixed an epistle to his friend Peter Daniel, the learned editor of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius, in which he gives several notices respecting his avocations, and especially respecting his poetical works. "Between the occupations of a court, and the annoyance of disease, I have hardly," he remarks, "been able to steal any portion of time which I could devote to my friends or to myself, and I have therefore been prevented from maintaining a frequent correspondence with them, and from collecting my poems which lie so widely dispersed. For my own part I was not extremely solicitous to recall them from perdition, for the subjects are generally of a trivial nature, and such as at this period of life are at once calculated to inspire me with disgust and shame. But as Pierre Montauré, and some other friends, to whom I neither can nor ought to refuse any request, demanded them with such earnestness, I have employed some of my leisure hours in collecting a portion, and placing it in a state of arrangement. With this specimen, which consists of one book of elegies, another of miscellanies, and a third of hendecasyllables, I in the meantime present you. When it shall suit your convenience, I beg you will communicate them to Montauré, des Mesmes, and other philological friends, without whose advice I trust you will not adopt any measure relative to their publication. In a short time I propose sending a book of iambics, another of epigrams, another of odes, and perhaps some other pieces of a similar description. All these I wish to be at the disposal of my friends, as I have finally determined to rely more on their judgment than on my own. In my paraphrase of the *Psalms*, I have corrected many typographical errors, and have likewise made various alterations. I must therefore request you to advise our friend Stephanus not to publish a new edition without my knowledge. Hitherto

I have not found leisure to finish the second book of my poem *De Sphæra*, and therefore I have not made a transcript of the first. As soon as the former are completed I shall transmit them to you. Salute in my name all our friends at Orleans, and such others as it may be convenient. Farewell. Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth, 1566." The work, of course, met with his friend's approbation, and was printed in Paris by Robert Stephens in 1567, 12mo. We have already noticed that the poem *De Sphæra* was never completed. From the above letter it appears that it was Buchanan's intention to return to it when he should have finished some others that were in a greater state of forwardness, and did not require such a full command of his time as a work of greater magnitude. Circumstances, however, soon put a period to these peaceful and pleasing pursuits.

The marriage of Mary and Darnley, the murders of Rizzio and Darnley, the union between the Queen and Bothwell, the flight of the latter, Mary's surrender to the confederated lords, her imprisonment in Lochleven castle, and her escape from it, the defeat of her army at Langside, and her escape into England, are the events best known of any in Scottish history, and it is needless here to enlarge upon them. When Elizabeth thought fit to appoint commissioners, and call witnesses from Scotland for the purpose of substantiating the charges upon which Mary had been expelled from the throne, the main burden of the proof was devolved upon Buchanan, who had accepted favours from the Queen, indeed, but did not on that account either decline the task of becoming her accuser, or perform it with the less severity. He accordingly accompanied the Regent Murray into England upon that occasion, having composed in Latin a *Detection* of Mary's actions, which was laid before the commissioners at Westminster, and was afterwards most industriously circulated by the English court. To the same pen has also been ascribed the *Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam*, a coarse and scurrilous invective, which was printed in England along with the *Detection*, but of which no man capable of reading Buchanan's works will believe that he ever composed one line. "The *Detection*," says an eminent historian, "is a concise historical deduction of facts, a rapid narrative written with that chaste and classical precision of thought and language by which each sentence acquires an appropriate idea distinct from the preceding, neither anticipated, repeated, nor intermixed with others; and the style is so strictly historical that the work is incorporated in Buchanan's history almost without alteration. But the *Action* against Mary is a dull declamation and a malignant invective, written in professed imitation of the ancient orators, whom Buchanan has never imitated, without arrangement of parts, coherence, or a regular train of ideas, and without a single passage which Buchanan in his history has deigned to transcribe." The assassination of the Regent Murray soon after his return from England, threw the nation into a still deeper ferment, and Buchanan, strongly suspicious of the selfish policy of the Hamiltons, which he regarded as the principal source of the calamities that now afflicted the nation, addressed "Ane admonition direct to the true lordis maintainirs of the kingis graces autorite," in which he earnestly adjured them to protect the young king and the children of the late regent from the perils that seemed to impend over them. The same year he composed a satirical delineation of the character of the secretary Lethington, entitled, *Chameleon*, which, through the vigilance of the secretary, was prevented from being published at the time. A copy, however, was preserved among the Cotton MSS. dated 1570, and it was printed at London, in 1710, in the *Miscellanea Scotica*. It has been often reprinted since. These two pieces appear to be all that he ever composed in his vernacular tongue, and they are of such excellence as to make it matter of regret that he did not turn his attention

oftener to the cultivation of his native language. As the hopes of the protestant party were entirely centred in King James, Buchanan was, in 1570, selected by the lords of the privy council, and others of the nobility, assembled on occasion of the slaughter of the regent Murray, to take the superintendence of that important matter, the education of the royal youth. On this occasion he "appeared personally in presence of the said lords of the council, nobility, and others of the estates, and at their desire, and of his own free will and proper motive, demitted and gave over his charge and place of master of the said college, (St Leonards,) in the favours of his well-beloved Master Patrick Adamson, and no otherwise."<sup>1</sup>

Buchanan commenced his new duties with ardour; and the very respectable scholarship which his pupil exhibited in after life, shows that so far he executed his task with great success. James had been committed, during his infancy, to the charge of the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of the most unblemished integrity, and he was now in the fourth year of his age. His governor was Sir Alexander Erskine, brother to the Earl of Mar, "a gallant well-natured gentleman, loved and honoured by all men." The preceptors associated with Buchanan were Mr Peter Young, and the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, both of them related to the family of Mar. Young was a man of a mild disposition, respectable both for his talents and learning; and he discharged his office with a prudent attention to his future interests. Recollecting that his pupil was soon to be the sole dispenser of public favour, he was careful to secure his good graces, and of course was afterwards employed in several political transactions of considerable importance, obtained the honour of knighthood, and an annual pension of considerable amount. The two abbots, also, were wise and modest, according to Sir James Melville, but the Lady Mar was wise and sharp, and held the king in great awe, and so did Mr George Buchanan. "But Mr George," Melville adds, "was a Stoic philosopher, who looked not far beforehand; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge of Latin poesy; much honoured in other countries; pleasant in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing when he wanted." The austere spirit of Buchanan was not to be swayed by considerations of self-interest. Called in his old age to the discharge of this task, he seems to have performed it with an entire disregard of personal consequences. The result was, as we have said, that he certainly succeeded in beating a respectable degree of scholarship into his royal pupil, but left James's mind untinted with any respect or affection for his instructor. On the contrary, the king long remembered him with a feeling of horror, and used to say of one of his English courtiers, in the latter part of his life, that he never could help trembling at his approach, he reminded him so strongly of his pedagogue. Concerning Buchanan's treatment of his royal pupil there are preserved more anecdotes than in reference to any other period of his life; which, if we are to believe them, show that he neither spared castigation nor reproach. The Master of Erskine, who was the prince's playmate, had a tame sparrow, possession of which was coveted by James, and ineffectually entreated from the owner. James had recourse to violence in order to obtain what he desired, and the one boy pulled and the other held till the poor sparrow was killed in the struggle. The loss of his little favourite caused the

<sup>1</sup> This is supposed to have been Mr Patrick Adamson, afterwards archbishop of St Andrews, but it does not appear from the records of the university that he ever entered upon his new functions. If we may credit Dr Mackenzie, Adamson was at this time, or at least shortly after it, in France, whence he did not return till after the Bartholomew massacre. This nomination, therefore, was probably made in his absence, and before he could order his affairs abroad and be ready to enter upon his office, other arrangements might have become necessary.

Master of Erskine to shed tears, and make, as is usual in such cases, a lusty outcry. This brought the matter under the notice of Buchanan, who, Mackenzie says, "gave the king a box on the ear, and told him that what he had done was like a true bird of the bloody nest of which he had come." A more pleasing anecdote is thus related by Dr Irving:—"One of the earliest propensities which he [James] discovered, was an excessive attachment to favourites; and this weakness, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteristics of childhood, continued to retain its ascendancy during every stage of his life. His facility in complying with every request alarmed the prophetic sagacity of Buchanan. On the authority of the poet's nephew, Clytraeus has recorded a ludicrous expedient which he adopted for the purpose of correcting his pupil's conduct. He presented the young king with two papers which he requested him to sign; and James, after having slightly interrogated him concerning their contents, readily appended his signature to each, without the precaution of even a cursory perusal. One of them was a formal transference of the regal authority for the term of fifteen days. Having quitted the royal presence, one of the courtiers accosted him with his usual salutation: but to this astonished nobleman he announced himself in the new character of a sovereign; and with that happy urbanity of humour, for which he was so distinguished, he began to assume the high demeanor of royalty. He afterwards preserved the same deportment towards the king himself; and when James expressed his amazement at such extraordinary conduct, Buchanan admonished him of his having resigned the crown. This reply did not tend to lessen the monarch's surprise; for he now began to suspect his preceptor of mental derangement. Buchanan then produced the instrument by which he was formally invested; and, with the authority of a tutor, proceeded to remind him of the absurdity of assenting to petitions in so rash a manner."

When nominated the king's preceptor, Buchanan was also appointed director of the chancery; but this he does not appear to have long held. The same year he was made keeper of the privy seal in the room of John, afterwards lord, Maitland, who was deprived for his adherence to the queen. This office, both honourable and lucrative, and which entitled him to a seat in parliament, he held for several years. In April, 1578, he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew, Thomas, son of Alexander Buchanan of Slent; but this seems to have been done only to secure the reversion, for, in the following June and July, he continued to vote in parliament, and, so late as 1580, was addressed by his foreign correspondents as preceptor and counsellor to king James. In the management of public affairs Buchanan seems to have taken a lively interest, and to have been equally consulted as a politician and a scholar. Accordingly, in 1578, we find him forming one of a numerous commission, among whom was another poet and scholar, archbishop Adamson, appointed to examine and digest the existing laws; a most desirable object, but one that from its difficulty was never carried fully into effect. He was also included in two commissions for the improvement of education. The first was to rectify an inconvenience arising from the use of different grammars in the schools. Of the committee appointed for this purpose, Buchanan was president, and the other members were Messrs Peter Young, Andrew Sympson, and James Carmichael. They met in Stirling palace, and were entertained during the continuance of their labours at the charge of the king. Having declared all the grammars in use defective, they resolved that three of their number should compile a new one. To Sympson were assigned the rudiments; to Carmichael what is improperly termed etymology; and to Buchanan the department of prosody. Their respective tracts were committed to the press, and authorized by an order of the king and council; but they con-



tinued to be standards of instruction for a very short time, and have long been utterly forgotten. The second commission to which we have referred, was appointed by the parliament of 1578, to visit the colleges, to reform such things as tended to popery, to displace unqualified persons, and to establish such persons therein as they should judge fit for the education of youth. The university of St Andrews was the subject of the first experiment. Having found many things to alter and redress, the commissioners prepared a scheme of reformation, which was ratified by parliament. This document, written in the Scottish tongue by George Buchanan, is still preserved. The plan of improvement is skilfully delineated, and evidently pre-supposes that there was no want of learned men in the nation, but it was never carried into effect.

With the regents Murray, Lennox, and Mar, Buchanan was cordially united; but Morton in the end forfeited his good-will by the plans of self-aggrandizement which he so sedulously pursued; and it was principally by his advice and that of Sir Alexander Erskine that Morton was deposed, and the reins of government put into the king's hands, though he was yet only in his twelfth year. He was of course a member of the privy council appointed for the young monarch, but seems to have been displaced on Morton's return to power; and we are uncertain if he ever again held any political office. It is probably to this short period of political influence that we are to ascribe the following anecdote of Buchanan, related by Dr Gilbert Stuart in his *Observations concerning the Public Law and the Constitutional History of Scotland*:—"In feudal times," that writer observes, "when the sovereign upon his advancement to the royalty was to swear fidelity to his subjects, and to pay homage to the laws, he delivered his naked sword into the hands of the high constable. 'Use this in my defence,' said he, 'while I support the interests of my people; use it to my destruction when I forsake them.' In allusion to this form, Buchanan made a naked sword to be represented on the money coined in the minority of James VI., with these words, *Pro me; si mereor, in me.*"

A list of twenty-four Scotsmen has been preserved, whom, on the king's assuming the reins of government, Elizabeth thought it necessary to attach to her interest by pensions, and among these Buchanan stands at £100 per year; no contemptible sum in those days, and the same that was assigned to some of the first nobles of the land. There is no evidence that he ever received this gratuity, or that it was offered to him. Mackenzie, however, states it as a certainty, and adds, that the composition of his "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*," was the grateful service he performed in return,—an assertion not likely, considering that the doctrines of this book were not very consonant to the views of that high minded princess. The "*De Jure*" was composed principally with a view to instruct his royal pupil in what belonged to his office.

In 1576, he prepared his Baptism, and dedicated it to the young king, with a freedom of sentiment bordering upon disrespect, which is to be regretted, because if his lessons had been conveyed in a less dictatorial manner, there would have been more likelihood of their being attended with advantage. "This trifle may seem," he says, "to have a more important reference to you, because it clearly discloses the punishment of tyrants, and the misery which awaits them even when their prosperity is at the highest. Such knowledge I consider it not only expe-

\* Sir James Melville assigns a different, and perhaps equally powerful, reason for Buchanan's disagreement with Morton: "He became the Earl of Morton's great enemy, for that a nag of his chanced to be taken from his servant, during the civil troubles, and was bought by the Regent, who had no will to part with the said horse, because he was sure-footed and easy; but because he would not part with him, from being the Regent's great friend, he became his mortal enemy, and from that time forth spoke evil of him at all times and upon all occasions."

dient but necessary that you should acquire, in order that you may early begin to hate what you ought always to shun; and I wish this work to remain as a witness to posterity, that if impelled by evil councillors, or suffering the licentiousness of royalty to prevail over a virtuous education, you should hereafter be guilty of any improper conduct, the fault may be imputed not to your preceptors, but to you who have not obeyed their salutary admonitions." Three years after, in 1579, he published the above-mentioned compendium of political Philosophy, the professed object of which is to delineate the rights of the Scottish crown. The origin of the work, which is sufficiently remote from that assigned by Mackenzie, is fully detailed in the dedication to the king, which is of so peculiar a character, that it would be unpardonable to pass it over. "Several years ago," he begins, "when our affairs were in a most turbulent condition, I composed a dialogue on the prerogatives of the Scottish crown, in which I endeavoured to explain, from their very cradle, if I may adopt that expression, the reciprocal rights and privileges of kings and their subjects. Although the work seemed to be of some immediate utility, by silencing certain individuals, who, with importunate clamours, rather inveighed against the existing state of things, than examined what was conformable to the standard of reason, yet in consequence of returning tranquillity, I willingly consecrated my arms to public concord. But having lately met with this disputation among my papers, and supposed it to contain many precepts necessary for your tender age, (especially as it is so conspicuously elevated in the scale of human affairs,) I have deemed its publication expedient, that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community. Many circumstances tend to convince me, that my present exertions will not prove fruitless, especially your age yet uncorrupted by perverse opinions, a disposition above your years spontaneously urging you to every noble pursuit, a facility in obeying not only your preceptors, but all prudent monitors; a judgment and dexterity in disquisition which prevents you from paying much regard to authority, unless it be confirmed by solid argument. I likewise perceive that by a kind of natural instinct you so abhor flattery, the nurse of tyranny, and the most grievous pest of a legitimate monarchy, that you as heartily hate the courtly solecisms and barbarisms, as they are relished and affected by those who consider themselves as the arbiters of every elegance, and who, by way of seasoning their conversation, are perpetually sprinkling it with majesties, lordships, excellencies, and if possible with expressions still more putid. Although the bounty of nature, and the instruction of your governors, may at present secure you against this error, yet am I compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion, lest evil communication, the alluring nurse of the vices, should lend an unhappy impulse to your still tender mind, especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have therefore sent you this treatise, not only as a monitor, but even as an importunate, and sometimes impudent dun, who in this turn of life may convey you beyond the rocks of adulation, and may not merely offer you advice, but confine you to the path which you have entered; and if you should chance to deviate, may reprehend you, and recall your steps. If you obey this monitor, you will insure tranquillity to yourself and to your subjects, and will transmit a brilliant reputation to the most remote posterity." The eagerness with which this work was sought after, by those of Buchanan's own principles on the Continent, is manifested by a letter from one of his correspondents. "Your dialogue *de Jure Regni*," says this epistle, "which you transmitted to me by Zolcher, the letter carrier of our friend Sturmius, I have received—a present which would be extremely agreeable to me, if the importunate entreaties of some persons did not prevent me from enjoying it; for the moment it was delivered into my hand, Dr

Wilson requested the loan of it—he yielded it to the importunity of the chancellor, from whom the treasurer procured a perusal of it, and has not yet returned it; so that, to this day, it has never been in my custody.”

Amidst multiplied labours Buchanan was now borne down with the load of years, aggravated by the encroachments of disease. His poetical studies seem now to have been entirely suspended, but his history of Scotland was unfinished, and was probably still receiving short additions or finishing touches. His life, too, at the request of his friends, he compiled when he had reached his 74th year, and his epistolary correspondence, which was at one time very extensive, was still continued with some of the friends of his earlier days. He had been long in the habit of writing annually, by some of the Bourdeaux merchants, to his old friend and colleague Vinetus, and one of these letters, written in March 1581, the year before his death, gives a not unpleasing picture of his state of feeling. “Upon receiving accounts of you,” he says, “by the merchants who return from your courts, I am filled with delight, and seem to enjoy a kind of second youth, for I am there apprised, that some remnants of the Portuguese peregrinations still exist. As I have now attained to the 75th year of my age, I sometimes call to remembrance through what toils and inquietudes I have sailed past all those objects which men commonly regard as pleasing, and have at length struck upon that rock beyond which, as the ninetyeth Psalm very truly avers, nothing remains but labour and sorrow. The only consolation that now awaits me, is to pause with delight on the recollection of my coeval friends, of whom you are almost the only one who still survives. Although you are not, as I presume, inferior to me in years, you are yet capable of benefiting your country by your exertion and counsel, and even of prolonging, by your learned compositions, your life to a future age. But I have long bade adieu to letters. It is now the only object of my solicitude, that I may remove with as little noise as possible from the society of my ill-assorted companions, that I who am already dead, may relinquish the fellowship of the living. In the meantime I transmit to you the youngest of my literary offspring, in order that when you discover it to be the drivelling child of age, you may be less anxious about its brothers. I understand that Henry Wardlaw, a young man of our nation, and the descendant of a good family, is prosecuting his studies in your seminary with no inconsiderable application. Although I am aware of your habitual politeness, and you are not ignorant that foreigners are peculiarly entitled to your attention, yet I am desirous he should find that our ancient familiarity recommends him to your favour.” Thuanus, who had seen this epistle in the possession of the venerable old man to whom it was addressed, says it was written with a tremulous hand, but in a generous style.

The last of Buchanan's productions was his history of Scotland, which it is doubtful whether he lived to see ushered fairly into the world or not. By the following letter to Mr Randolph, dated at Stirling in the month of August, 1577, it would appear that this work was then in a state of great forwardness. “Maister, I haif resavit diverse letters from you, and yit I haif ansourit to naine of thayme, of the quhyllke albiet I haif mony excusis, as age, forgetfulness, besines, and desease, yit I wyl use nane as now except my swe'rnness and your gentilness, and geif ye thynk nane of theise sufficient, content you with ane confession of the falt w'out fear of punnition to follow on my unkindness. As for the present, I am occupiit in wryting of our historie, being assurit to content few and to displease mony tharthrow. As to the end of it, yf ye gett it not or thys winter be passit, lippen not for it, nor nane other writyngs from me. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhylk haldis me busy bath day and nyt. And quhair ye say ye haif not lang to lyif, I truist to God to go before

you, albeit I be on fut and ye ryd the post [Randolph was post master to the queen's grace of England] prayin you als not to dispost my host at Newerk, Jone of Kilsterne. Thys I pray you, partly for his awyne sake, quhame I tho' ane gude fellow, and partly at request of syk as I dare not refuse, and thus I take my leif shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen God pleasis, committing you to the protection of the Almyty." By this letter it is evident that he expected to publish his history immediately. A long delay, however, took place, for when, in September 1581, he was visited by Andrew Melville, James Melville, and his cousin Thomas Buchanan, the work was only then printing. Of this visit, James Melville has left a most interesting account. "That September in tyme of vacans, my uncle Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring y' Mr George Buchanan was weak, and his historie under ye press, past ower to Edinbro annes earand to visit him and sie ye wark. When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in his charre teachng his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spel a, b, ab, e, b, eb, &c. After salutation, Mr Andro says, 'I sie, Sir, ye are not ydle.' 'Better,' quoth he, 'than stelling sheep or sitting ydle, whilk is als ill.' Yrefter he shew ws the epistle dedicatorie to the king, the quhylk when Mr Andro had read, he told him that it was obscure in some places, and wanted certain wordis to perfynt the sentence. Sayes he, 'I may do na mair for thinking on another matter.' 'What is that,' says Mr Andro. 'To die,' quoth he; 'but I leave that an mony ma things to you to help.' We went from him to the printer's wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his chronicle, at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steyng the hail wark, anent the burial of Davie. Therefore steyng the printer from proceeding, we cam to Mr George again, and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did, 'Even going the way of weillfare,' sayes he. Mr Thomas, his cousin, shaws him of the hardness of that part of his story, y' the king wald be offendit w' it, and it might stey all the wark. 'Tell me, man,' sayes he, 'if I have told the truth.' 'Yes,' says Mr Thomas, 'I think sa.' 'I will byd his feide and all his kin's, then,' quoth he. 'Pray, pray to God for me, and let him direct all. Sa be the printing of his chronicle was endit that maist learned, wyse, and Godlie man endit this mortal lyff."

The printing of the history must have gone on very slowly, for though it was printed as above, up to the seventeenth book, it was not finished till nearly a year after, the dedication to the king being dated August the twenty-ninth, 1582, only thirty days before the death of the author, which happened on Friday the 28th of September following, when he had reached the age of seventy-six years and eight months. He died in much peace, expressing his full reliance on the blood of Christ. He was buried in the Greyfriar's churchyard, a great multitude attending his funeral. A throughstone, with an inscription, is said to have marked his grave; but the inscription has long been invisible, and the existence of the stone itself appears to be more than doubtful. An obelisk has, by the gratitude of posterity, been reared to his memory in his native village Killearn. His death, like that of all men who live out the full term of human life, excited less emotion than might have been expected. Andrew Melville, who had often celebrated him while alive, discharged the last debt of lettered friendship in an elegant Latin poem; Joseph Scaliger also wrote an epitaph for him in terms of liberal and appropriate praise.

Buchanan was never married, and left, of course, no children to perpetuate his memory; and though he held latterly one of the great offices of state, and possessed other considerable sources of emolument, he acquired no great estates,

and his whole property at his death consisted of £100, arrears due upon his pension of Crossraguell.

A story is told upon the authority of the Earl of Cromarty, who had it from his grandfather, Lord Inverclyde, that Buchanan, on his death-bed, finding the money he had about him insufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral, sent his servant to divide it among the poor; adding, that if the city, meaning its authorities, did not choose to bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpse where they pleased. This anecdote has been by some rejected as apocryphal; but there is no proof of its untruth, and it certainly does not startle us on account of any incongruity with Buchanan's character, which was severe, even to moroseness. He had passed through almost every vicissitude of human life, and, stern and inflexible, perhaps he had less sympathy with human frailty than the weaknesses of most men require. He was subject to that irritability of feeling which frequently attends exalted genius, but manifested at all times a noble generosity of spirit, which made him be regarded by his friends with a warmth of affection which mere intellectual eminence, though it were that of an archangel, could never inspire. By the general voice of the civilized world he held a pre-eminence in literature that seemed to render competition hopeless; but his estimate of his own attainments was consistent with the most perfect modesty, and no man was more ready to discover and acknowledge genuine merit in others. His brilliant wit and unaffected humour rendered his society highly acceptable to persons of the most opposite tastes and dispositions.

In 1584, only two years after the publication of the history, it was condemned along with *De Jure Regni* by the parliament of Scotland, and every person possessed of copies commanded to surrender them within forty days in order that they might be purged of the offensive and extraordinary matters which they contained.

We shall close this sketch of Buchanan's life with the concluding reflections of his learned biographer Dr Irving. "In his numerous writings," says the Doctor, "he discovers a vigorous and mature combination of talents which have seldom been found united in equal perfection. According to the common opinion, intellectual superiority is almost invariably circumscribed by one of the two grand partitions which philosophers have delineated; it is either founded on the predominancy of those capabilities which constitute what is termed the imagination, or of those which, in contradistinction, are denominated the understanding. These different powers of exertion, though certainly not incompatible with each other, are but rarely found to coalesce in equal maturity. Buchanan has, however, displayed them in the same high degree of perfection. To an imagination excursive and brilliant he unites an undeviating rectitude of judgment. His learning was at once elegant, various, and profound. Turnebus, who was associated with him in the same college, and whose decisions will not be rashly controverted, has characterized him as a man of consummate erudition. Most of the ancient writers had limited their aspiring hopes to one department of literature, and even to excel in one demand, the happy perseverance of a cultivated genius. Plato despaired of securing a reputation by his poetry. The poetical attempts of Cicero, though less contemptible perhaps than they are commonly represented, would not have been sufficient to transmit an illustrious name to future ages. Buchanan has not only attained to excellence in each species of composition, but in each species has displayed a variety of excellence. In philosophical dialogue and historical narrative, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy, epigram, and satire, he has never been equalled in modern, and hardly surpassed in ancient, times. A few Roman poets of the purest age have excelled him

in their several provinces, but none of them has evinced the same capability of universal attainment. Horace and Livy wrote in the language they had learned from their mothers, but its very acquisition was to Buchanan the result of much youthful labour. Yet he writes with the purity and elegance of an ancient Roman. Unfettered by the classical restraints which shrivel the powers of an ordinary mind, he expatiates with all the characteristic energy of strong and original sentiment; he produces new combinations of fancy, and invests them with language equally polished and appropriate. His diction uniformly displays a happy vein of elegant and masculine simplicity, and is distinguished by that propriety and perspicuity which can only be attained by a man perfectly master of his ideas and of the language in which he writes.<sup>1</sup> The variety of his

1 It is probable that nineteen out of every twenty of the readers of these pages, are already aware of the great merit of Buchanan's poetry, without having ever seen or read a single line of it, either in its original, or in a translated form. I shall endeavour to correct this, by sub-joining translations of three of his best small poems, executed by my esteemed friend, Mr Robert Hogg of Edinburgh, whose accurate taste and deep poetical sensibility are conspicuous in two articles already contributed by him to this work—Dr BLACKLOCK and MICHAEL BRUCE. It will be observed, from these compositions, which present the ideas and spirit of the original with wonderful fidelity, how different a poet Buchanan must have been from the stiff and conceited rhymesters of his own age and country.

#### ON THE FIRST OF MAY.

All hail to thee, thou First of May,  
 Sacred to wonted sport and play,  
 To wine, and jest, and dance and song,  
 And mirth that lasts the whole day long:  
 Hail! of the seasons, honour bright,  
 Annual return of sweet delight;  
 Flower of reviving summer's reign,  
 That hastes to time's old age again!  
 When Spring's mild air, at Nature's birth,  
 First breathed upon the new-form'd earth;  
 Or when the fabled age of gold,  
 Without fixed law, spontaneous roll'd;  
 Such zephyrs, in continual gales,  
 Pass'd temperate along the vales,  
 And softened and refreshed the soil,  
 Not broken yet by human toil;  
 Such fruitful warmth's perpetual rest  
 On the fair islands of the blest—  
 Those plains where fell disease's moan,  
 And frail old age are both unknown.  
 Such winds with gentle whispers spread,  
 Among the dwellings of the dead,  
 And shake the cypresses that grow  
 Where Lethe murmurs soft and slow  
 Perhaps when God at last in ire  
 Shall purify the world with fire,  
 And to mankind restore again  
 Times happy, void of sin and pain,  
 The beings of this earth beneath  
 Such pure ethereal air shall breathe.  
 Hail! glory of the fleeting year!  
 Hail! day the fairest, happiest here!  
 Memorial of the time gone by,  
 And emblem of futurity!

#### ON NEERA.

My wreck of mind, and all my woes,  
 And all my ills that day arose,  
 When on the fair Neera's eyes,  
 Like stars that shine  
 At first, with hapless fond surprise,  
 I gazed with mine.  
 When my glance met her searching glance,  
 A shivering o'er my body burst,

poetical measures is immense, and to each species he imparts its peculiar grace and harmony. The style of his prose exhibits correspondent beauties; nor is it chequered by phraseologies, unsuitable in that mode of composition. His diction, whether in prose or verse, is not a tissue of centos; he imitates the ancients as the ancients imitated each other. No Latin poet of modern times has united the same originality and elegance; no historian has so completely imbibed the genius of antiquity, without being betrayed into servile and pedantic imitation. But his works may legitimately claim a higher order of merit, they have added no inconsiderable influx to the general stream of human knowledge. The wit, the pungency, the vehemence of his ecclesiastical satires, must have tended to

As light leaves in the greenwoods dance,  
When western breezes stir them first;  
My heart, forth from my breast to go,  
And mix with hers, already wanting,  
Now beat, now trembled to and fro,  
With eager fondness leaping, panting.

Just as a boy, whose nourice woos him,  
Folding his young limbs in her bosom,  
Heeds not caresses from another,  
But turns his eyes still to his mother,  
When she may once regard him watches,  
And forth his little fond arms stretches:  
Just as a bird within the nest  
That cannot fly, yet constant trying,  
Its weak wings on its tender breast  
Beats with the vain desire of flying.

Thou weary mind, thyself preparing  
To live at peace from all ensnaring,  
That thou might'st never mischief catch,  
Placed'st you, unhappy eyes, to watch,  
With vigilance that knew no rest,  
Beside the gate-ways of the breast;  
But you, induced by dalliance deep,  
Or guile, or overcome by sleep;  
Or else have of your own accord  
Consented to betray your lord;  
Both heart and soul, then fled and left  
Me spiritless, of mind bereft.

#### A MORNING HYMN TO CHRIST.

Son of the highest Father thou,  
And equal of the Father too;  
Pure heavenly light of light divine,  
Thy Father's might and powers are thine.  
Lo, while retire the shades of night,  
Aurora, with her purple light,  
Illumines earth, and sea, and sky,  
Disclosing what in darkness lie:  
But shades of ignorance impure  
My soul and all its powers obscure,  
And fearful clouds of error blind  
And almost overwhelm my mind:  
Arise, O Sun! most pure, most bright!  
The world irradiate with thy light;  
Shine on my darkness, and dispel  
The mists of sin that round me dwell:  
Remove this fearful cold; impart  
Unto the waste field of my heart,  
From thine own lamp a warming ray  
To purge each noxious damp away;  
That so, by reason of thy love,  
Watered with moisture from above,  
The seed increase in grateful mould  
An hundred and an hundred fold.



foment the general flame of reformation; and his political speculations are evidently those of a man who had soared beyond the narrow limits of his age." All these remarks the reader will observe refer to the original Latin in which all the works of Buchanan, with the exception of the two which we have particularized, are written. The Dialogue has been frequently re-printed, and several times translated. Of the History, which was printed by Alexander Arbuthnot at Edinburgh, 1582, there have been published seventeen editions. It was translated into the Scottish language by John Reid, who, according to Calderwood's MS., was servitor to Mr George Buchanan. A MS. of this unpublished version is in the library of the university of Glasgow. Another unpublished version is in the British museum. In 1690, an English translation, with a portrait of the author, was printed in folio. This version has gone through five or six editions, and is to be frequently met with. It is a clumsy performance, and gives some such idea of Buchanan as a block from the quarry gives of the highly finished statue. A much better translation has recently appeared, from the pen of James Aikman, Esq. It is an honour yet awaiting some future scholar, to give to his unlettered countrymen to feel somewhat of the grace and strength that characterize the performances of George Buchanan.

BURNET, GILBERT, bishop of Salisbury, and an historian of great eminence, was born at Edinburgh on the 18th of September, 1643. His father was a younger brother of a family possessing considerable interest in the shire of Aberdeen, and was bred to the law, which he followed with great success. He was eminent for his probity, and his generosity was such that he never took a fee from the poor, nor from any clergyman, when he sued in the right of his church. In his morals he was strict, and his piety procured him the reproach of being a puritan; yet he was episcopal in his judgment, and adhered to the bishops and the rights of the crown with great constancy, and three several times he left the kingdom to avoid taking the covenant. On one of these occasions, he was an exile for several years, and though his return was latterly connived at, he was not permitted to resume the practice of the law, but lived in retirement upon his estate in the country till the Restoration, when he was promoted to be a lord of session. The mother of our author was not less conspicuous than his father, being a sister of Lord Warriston's, and, like him, a great admirer of the presbyterian discipline.

In consequence of his seclusion from business, Mr Burnet took the education of his son, in the early part of it, wholly upon himself, and he conducted it so successfully, that at the age of ten years, Gilbert was sufficiently acquainted with the Latin tongue, as to be entered a student in the college of Aberdeen, where he perfected himself in Greek, went through the common methods of the Aristotelian logic and philosophy, and took his degree of M.A. before he was fourteen. After this, much to the regret of his father, who had all along intended him for the church, he commenced the study of the law, both civil and feudal, in which he made very considerable progress. In the course of a year, however, he altered his resolution, and, agreeably to the will of his father, devoted himself wholly to the study of divinity, in which, with indefatigable diligence, studying commonly fourteen hours a day, he made a rapid progress, having gone through the Old and New Testaments, with all the commentaries then in repute, as well as some of the most approved systems of school divinity, before he was eighteen years of age; when having passed the usual routine of previous exercises, which at that time were nearly the same in the presbyterian and episcopalian churches, he was licensed as a probationer or preacher of the gospel. His father was about this time appointed a lord of session, and his cousin-german, Sir Alexander Burnet, gave him the presentation to an



excellent benefice, which lay in the very centre of all his relations. He refused to accept of it, however, on account of his youth, notwithstanding the importunities of all his friends, his father excepted, who left him entirely to his own discretion. His father dying shortly after this, and one of his brothers (Robert) having become famous at the bar, his mother's relations eagerly desired him to return to his former studies, the law, in which they assured him of the most flattering encouragement; but he was immoveably fixed in his purpose of devoting his life to the service of the church. In this resolution he was greatly confirmed by the Rev. Mr Nairn, who at that time filled the Abbey church of Edinburgh, and took a deep interest in him. Mr Nairn was reckoned one of the most eloquent of the Scottish preachers, and afterwards became well known in the west of Scotland, as one of "Archbishop Leighton's Evangelists." He was remarkable in his discourses for accuracy of style, strength of reasoning, and lofty flights of imagination; yet he always preached extempore, considering the task of writing his discourses as a loss of time. Young Burnet was his great admirer, and learned from him to preach extemporaneously, which he did all his life with great ease, by allotting a part of every day to meditation on all sorts of subjects, speaking all his thoughts aloud, and studying to render his expressions fluent and correct. To Mr Nairn, also, he was indebted for his acquaintance with various celebrated works, particularly Dr More's works, the writings of Plato, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, by the principles of which he professed to be guided through life. In 1662 he became acquainted with bishop Leighton, who, conceiving a great affection for him, took a particular delight in overlooking his studies. Through this amiable divine, he became acquainted with the primitive writers, going through all the apologies of the fathers of the three first centuries, and Binnius' Collections of Councils, down to the second council of Nice. He had the good fortune, about this same time, to contract an intimacy with Mr Laurence Charteris, a man of great worth and gravity, who was not only a solid divine, but an eminent master of history, both ancient and modern, well acquainted with geography, and a profound mathematician, and who also took a deep interest in finishing the education of his young friend, which had been so happily begun, and so successfully carried on.

In 1663 Burnet made an excursion into England, taking Cambridge and Oxford in his way. At the first of these, he had the pleasure of being introduced to Drs Cudworth, Pearson, Burnet (author of the theory of the earth), and More. At the latter he met with great attention, particularly from Drs Fell and Pocock, on account of his ready knowledge of the fathers and ancient councils. Here he improved his mathematics by the instructions of Dr Wallis, who gave him a letter of introduction to that great philosopher and Christian, Mr Robert Boyle, at London. In London he was introduced to all the eminent divines of that period, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick Lloyd, Whitecot, and Wilkins, all of whose characters he lived to draw in his history. Here also he had the advantage of the conversation of Sir Robert Murray, who introduced him into the first circles of society, acting at the same time the part of a faithful monitor, in pointing out to him those errors and indiscretions into which he was in danger of falling from his youth and inexperience.

After spending six months in this agreeable manner, he returned to his native country, where he was again pressed to enter into orders, and to accept of a charge in the west, which he could not be prevailed on to do. Hearing of his great fame, Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton, who had been acquainted with, and had received many obligations from his father at Paris, sent for him at this time to his country seat, and after hearing him preach, offered him that parish, the minister having just been nominated to one of the bishoprics.

Burnet would have excused himself, as he intended travelling to the continent, and solicited the place for his friend Nairn; but Sir Robert would take no denial, being resolved to keep the place vacant till his return.

In 1664, the subject of this memoir went over to Holland, and after seeing what was most remarkable in the Seven Provinces, fixed his residence at Amsterdam, where, under the care of a learned Rabbini, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language. He also became acquainted here with the leading men of many different sects, among all of whom he declared he found so much real piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and conceived an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of differences in the profession or forms of religion. From Holland, by the way of the Netherlands, he passed into France, where, at Paris, he had the pleasure of conversing frequently with Daillé and Morus, the two protestant ministers of Charenton, the former renowned for his learning and judgment, the latter for shining abilities and unrivalled eloquence. His stay in France was prolonged on account of the kindness with which he was treated by Lord Hollis, then ambassador at the French court. Towards the end of the year, however, he returned to Scotland by the way of London, where, by the president, Sir Robert Murray, he was introduced as a member of the Royal Society. On arriving at Edinburgh he was waited upon by Sir Robert Fletcher, who carried him down to Salton, and presented him to the parish, which he declined taking absolutely, till he should have the joint request of all the parishioners. This he very soon obtained without one single exception, and was ordained a priest by the bishop of Edinburgh in the year 1665. At Salton he remained for five years, a bright example of what parish ministers ought to be. He preached twice every Sabbath, and once through the week. He catechized three times a week, so as to examine every parishioner, old and young, three times in the compass of the year. He went round his parish, from house to house, instructing, reproofing, or comforting the inmates, as occasion required. The sick he visited often twice a day. The sacrament he dispensed four times a year, and he personally instructed all such as gave notice that they intended to receive it. Of his stipend,<sup>1</sup> all that remained above his own necessary subsistence, he gave away in charity. On one occasion, a parishioner who had been in execution for debt, asked him for a little to help his present exigency; he inquired how much it would take to set him up again in his business, and on being told, ordered his servant to go and give him the money. "Sir," said his servant, probably piqued at his generosity, "it is all the money we have in the house." "It is well," was the reply; "go and pay it to the poor man. You do not know the pleasure there is in making a man glad." We need not wonder that such a man had the affections of his whole parish, even of the presbyterians, though he was then the only minister in Scotland who made use of the prayers in the liturgy of the church of England. No worth and no diligence on the part of individuals, however, can atone for or make up the defects of a wretched system; on the contrary, they often render these defects more apparent, and their consequences more pernicious. Few parishes in Scotland were filled in the manner that Salton was. Ignorant and profane persons had almost every where, through political interest, thrust themselves into the cure of souls, which, of course, they totally neglected, to the great offence of good men like Burnet, who drew up a memorial of the many abuses he observed among his brethren, which was highly

<sup>1</sup> As minister of Salton, Burnet received in stipend from the laird of Salton, in 1665, £297 10s. Scots [equal to £33 2s. 6d. sterling,] together with 11 bolls, 2 pecks, 2 lippies, of wheat; 11 bolls, 2 pecks, 2 lippies of bear; and 22 bolls, 1 firiot, 1 peck, 3 lippies meal.—*Receipt, MSS. Adv. Lib. signed "GILBERT BURNET."*

resented by his superiors. In consequence of this, lest his conduct might be attributed to ambitious views, he sequestered himself almost entirely from the public, and by hard study and too abstemious living threw himself into a fever, which had nearly proved fatal. He was soon after interrupted in his pious labours, by being called upon, by the new administration that was appointed in 1668, in which his friend Sir Robert Murray had a principal share, to give his advice for remedying the public disorders, which had been occasioned by the overthrow of the presbyterian constitution, and, along with it, the civil rights of the people. At his suggestion, the expedient of an indulgence to the presbyterians, under certain limitations, was adopted in the year 1669, by which it was hoped they would by degrees be brought to submit to the new order of things. He was at the same time employed to assist Leighton, now made archbishop of Glasgow, in bringing forward his scheme for an accommodation between the conflicting churches. In the course of his journeyings to the west, he was introduced to Anne, duchess of Hamilton, a very excellent woman, with a strong bias towards the presbyterians, which enabled her to influence in some degree the leaders of that body, and rendered her somewhat of a public character. At her house, the managers of the college of Glasgow had occasion to meet with the minister of Salton, and, the divinity chair being there vacant, he was unanimously elected to fill it. All this was unknown to Burnet till it was over, and he was again thrown into much difficulty, his friends insisting upon him to accept the invitation, and his parishioners that he should refuse it. Leighton, however, laid his commands upon him, which he considered as law, and he therefore removed to Glasgow in the year 1669.

Owing to the deplorable state of the church and nation, he encountered much trouble and many inconveniences in his new situation. His principal care, however, was to improve his pupils, to whom he seems to have devoted almost his whole time and attention. On the Mondays he made each of the students in his turn explain a head of divinity in Latin—propound a thesis from it, which he was to defend against his fellow-students, the professor concluding the exercise by deciding the point in a Latin oration. On Tuesdays, he prelected in Latin, purposing in eight years to embrace a complete system of divinity. On Wednesdays, he gave a lecture of an hour upon the gospel of Matthew. On Thursdays the exercise was alternate; one Thursday he expounded a Hebrew psalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the English version; on the other, he explained some portion of the ritual and constitution of the primitive church. On Fridays he made each of his pupils, in course, preach a short sermon upon a text assigned, upon which he gave his own remarks in conclusion. This was the labour of the mornings. In the evenings, after prayers, he every day read them a portion of the Scriptures, on which he made a short discourse, after which he examined into the progress of their several studies, exhorting, encouraging, and directing them, as he found necessary. In order to keep up all these exercises, he was under the necessity of rising every morning at four o'clock, and it was ten before his preparations were completed for the labours of the day. During his vacations, he made frequent visits to Hamilton, where he was engaged by the duchess to examine and put in order the papers of her father and uncle, which led him to compile the memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. The duke of Lauderdale, hearing he was employed upon this work, wrote for him to come up to London, promising him such information concerning the transactions of these times as he could furnish. He went to London, accordingly, and was received by Lauderdale with much kindness. But the impious manners of this nobleman were not agreeable to him, and he made no use of the confidence reposed in him, except to reconcile his grace to the duke

of Hamilton, who had assignments given him on the revenues of the crown, in satisfaction of some old claims for which vouchers had been found by Burnet among the papers intrusted to his care, and in return the Duke of Hamilton engaged to concur with the measures of the court in the ensuing parliament.

Four of the Scottish bishoprics were at this time vacant, of which Burnet was offered his choice; but he foresaw that they would entangle him in difficulties, with little prospect of his being able to effect any thing good; so he utterly refused to accept any of them. In 1672, he prevented a breach between Lauderdale and the Duke of Hamilton, for which his country certainly owed him little thanks. About this time he published his *Vindication of the authority, constitution, and laws of the church and state of Scotland*, wherein he strenuously maintained the cause of Episcopacy, and the illegality of resistance merely on account of religion. This was by the court reckoned a most acceptable service. He was again courted to accept of a bishopric, with the promise of the first archbishopric that should become vacant; but he still persisted in refusing. In 1673, he went again to London, in order to obtain a license for publishing his *Memoirs of the duke of Hamilton*. He also entertained a resolution to have nothing further to do with the affairs of state, being satisfied that popery was now the prevailing interest at court, and that the sacramental test by which York, Clifford, and other papists had been excluded, was a mere artifice of Charles to obtain money to prosecute the Dutch war. On this occasion, he used much freedom both with the duke and duchess of Lauderdale; pointing out to them in strong terms, the errors they had fallen into, and the fatal effects that would accrue to themselves and to the whole nation. This, with his known intimacy with duke Hamilton, who was at the time a kind of feeble oppositionist, brought him into high credit, as possessed of great influence in Scotland, in consequence of which he was frequently consulted both by the King and the duke of York, to the latter of whom he introduced Dr Stillingfleet, and proposed a conference, in presence of his Royal Highness, with some of the Catholic priests, on the chief points of controversy between the Romanists and the Protestants, which must have been highly offensive to that bigoted prince. With the king he made no other use of the freedom allowed him than to attempt awakening him out of that lethargy of indolence and vice, in which he seemed to be wholly entranced, and to revive in him some sense of religion, an aim in which his self-love must have been very strong if he had any hopes of succeeding. The king made him a compliment, however, by naming him one of his chaplains. Having obtained a license for his *Memoirs of the dukes of Hamilton*, which was delayed that the king and some of his ministers might have the pleasure of reading them in MS.; he returned to Scotland, and finding the animosity between the dukes of Lauderdale and Hamilton no longer repressible, he retired to his station at Glasgow. The favour shown him at London awakened the jealousy and exposed him to the rage of a numerous class of courtiers. The schemes of the court having been in some instances thwarted by the parliament, Lauderdale threw the whole blame upon Burnet, whom he represented as the underhand instrument of all the opposition he had met with. This accusation drew him again to court in 1674. The king received him coldly, and ordered his name to be struck off the list of chaplains. Yet, at the entreaty of the duke of York, his majesty admitted him to an audience, to say what he could in his own defence, which having heard, he seemed satisfied, and ordered him home to Glasgow. From this the duke of York dissuaded him till his peace should be entirely made; otherwise, he assured him he could be thrown into prison, where he might be detained as long as the present party was in power. His Royal Highness at the same time exerted himself to have

him reconciled with Lauderdale, but without effect. Dr Burnet had now no alternative but to resign his professorial chair, and seek a settlement in England, or by going back to Scotland, put himself in the power of his enemies. He did not long hesitate, and would have found at once a quiet settlement in London, had not the electors of the church he had in view been deterred from choosing him by a sharp message from the king. This, though at the time it had the aspect of a misfortune, he ever after spoke of as one of the happiest incidents of his life; as it at once set him free from the entanglements of a corrupt court, whose services he had been so far engaged in, that, without some such accident, he might never have escaped from them.

He had now an offer of the living of St Giles, Cripplegate, from the Dean and chapter of St Pauls. As he, however, had learned, that it was originally their intention to bestow the living upon Dr Fuller, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, he thanked them for the offer, but declared himself not at liberty to accept it. Through the recommendation of Lord Hollis, he was next year appointed preacher to a Chapel by Sir Harbottle Grimston, master of the rolls, though the court sent first a bishop and afterward secretary Williamson to inform Harbottle that he was a preacher highly unacceptable to the king. In this chapel he remained nine years, during which time he was elected a lecturer at St Clements, and was one of the most admired preachers in town. In 1676, he printed an account of a conference which himself and Dr Stillingfleet held with Coleman and the principal of the Romish priests; and in 1679, appeared the first volume of his history of the Reformation, which procured him a vote of thanks from both houses of parliament, with a request that he would prosecute the work to its completion, without loss of time. Two years after this, he published the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first. Having at this time no parochial cure, Dr Burnet was not in the practice of visiting the sick, as a part of his regular calling; but he was always ready to attend those who requested his visits. Among these happened to be a lady, who had been criminally connected with John Wilmot earl of Rochester, and the manner in which the Dr conducted himself towards her, excited a strong desire in his lordship to see and converse with him. This led to a weekly meeting of Dr Burnet and Lord Rochester for a whole winter, which ended first in the conviction, and latterly it is to be hoped the conversion of that singular libertine. An account of the whole affair was published by Dr Burnet in 1681, which, Dr Johnson says, "the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety." During the time of the inquiry into the popish plot, Charles seems to have been softened down considerably, and often sent for Dr Burnet, and consulted with him on the state of the nation. His Majesty made also another attempt to bring him over, by offering him the bishopric of Chichester, at that time vacant, provided he would come entirely into his interests; Burnet with an honesty, that we fear, is but too seldom practised, told the king, he knew the oaths that in such a case he must take: these he would observe religiously, but must be excused from giving any other engagements. He of course was not installed in the bishopric; but he embraced the opportunity of writing a letter to the king, which does him more real honour than if he had held in his single person, all the bishoprics in England. This letter, so full, so free, so faithful, and so affectionate, we regret that our limits forbid us to insert. We must also leave it to general history, to detail the endeavours he made to save the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, on occasion of the popish plot. By his conduct with regard to the exclusion of the Duke of York, and the scheme of a Prince Regent in lieu of that exclusion, he lost the favour of both parties, perhaps not unde-

servedly. Yet, in 1682, when the administration was wholly in favour of the Duke of York, a promise was obtained from the king to bestow upon him the mastership of the Temple, which was likely to be immediately vacant; upon which he was again sent for by the king, and treated with extraordinary kindness. Burnet himself, however, waved the promise that had been made him, when he found that he was expected in return for the place, to break up correspondence with all those who had been his best friends. He felt himself at this time upon such dangerous ground, that he was afraid of all communication with either of the parties that at this time were agitating the public mind; and as an excuse for privacy, built a laboratory, and for a whole year amused himself with performing experiments in chemistry. He was at this time offered a living of three hundred pounds a year by the earl of Essex, upon condition that he would continue to reside in London. In case of having the cure of souls, however, Burnet thought residence an indispensable obligation, and the benefice was given to another. In 1683, he narrowly escaped being brought by his friends into trouble by the Ryehouse plot; and by his conducting the trial and attending on Lord William Russel in prison and on the scaffold, and particularly by defending his memory before the council, he incurred the odium of the court, which, from a certain knowledge of his integrity, could not fail at this time to be greatly afraid of him. In the course of this year, probably to be out of the way of his enemies, he went over to Paris, where he was treated with great deference, by the express orders of Louis XIV. Here, his friends, apprehensive of danger to him at home, wished him to remain; but as no consideration could induce him to be long absent from his charge, he of course returned in a short time. That same year, however, he was discharged from his lecture at St Clements, by a mandate from the king, and in March 1684, he was forbid preaching any more in the chapel at the rolls. Being thus happily disengaged from all his employments, at the death of Charles II. upon the accession of James VII. he requested, and obtained leave to quit the kingdom, and went to Paris, where he lived in great retirement, to avoid being involved in the conspiracies which the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Argyle were then forming against the government. When that business was at an end, he in company with an officer, a protestant in the French service, made the tour of Italy, and in 1684, came to Utrecht, where he found letters from some of the principal ministers of state at the Hague, requesting him to wait upon the prince and princess of Orange. As the Revolution in England was already in contemplation, Dr Burnet met from these personages a most gracious reception, and was soon admitted to an entire confidence. When Dyckvelt was sent over ambassador to England, with a view particularly to sound the inclinations of the people, his secret instructions were drawn up by Dr Burnet, of which the rough draught in his own hand writing is still preserved. James, in the meantime, was highly incensed against him for the reflections he had made on the richness of the catholic countries, through which he had passed, in an account of his travels recently published, which it was supposed had had a sensible effect upon the people of England. His majesty accordingly wrote two severe letters against him to the princess of Orange, and forbade his envoy at the Hague to transact any business with that court till Dr Burnet was forbidden to appear there. This to humour James was done; but Hallewyn Fogel and the rest of the Dutch ministers consulted with him privately every day. A prosecution for treason was now commenced against Dr Burnet in Scotland; but before this could be notified to the States, he had been naturalized with a view to his marriage with a Dutch lady; and in a letter in answer to the charges preferred against him, directed to the earl of Middleton, he stated that being now naturalized in Holland, his

allegiance, during his stay there, was transferred from his majesty to the States. This expression was at once laid hold of, and dropping the former prosecution they proceeded against him for these words, as guilty of high treason, and passed against him a sentence of outlawry. It was then demanded of the States to deliver him up, or to banish him; but as he had been naturalized, the States refused to proceed against him, unless he were legally convicted of some crime; which, if his majesty found himself capable of doing, they would punish him according to their law. To narrate the important part he performed in the revolution, would be to write the history of that great event. By the prince of Orange as well as by the friends of liberty in England, he was treated with unreserved confidence. He had a principal hand in drawing up the prince's declarations, as well as the other public papers written at the time to justify the undertaking. But for a particular account of these we must refer our readers to the history of England. At the Revolution, Dr Crew, bishop of Durham, having been on the high commission created by king James, offered to resign his bishopric to Dr Burnet, trusting to his generosity for one thousand a year for life out of the episcopal revenue; and sent the earl of Montague to the prince of Orange with the proposal; but when mentioned to Burnet he refused absolutely to have any thing to do with it on these terms, as he considered them highly criminal. He was shortly after promoted to the see of Salisbury. At the close of the Session of parliament 1689, Dr Burnet went down to his diocese, when he entered upon the duties of his episcopal office with that conscientious ardour which distinguished his character. His first pastoral letter, however, in which, to save betraying the discrepancies of his political creed, he founded king William's right to the throne upon conquest, gave so much offence to both houses of parliament, that they ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. He maintained, nevertheless, unshaken credit with king William and queen Mary to the end of their days; and employed that credit in the most praise-worthy manner. He was by the king, in preference to all his ministers, appointed to name the princess Sophia, Electress of Brunswick, next in succession to the princess of Denmark, and her issue, in the famous bill for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession to the crown; and when that succession was explicitly established in 1701, he had the honour of being chairman of the committee to which the bill was referred. He had also the pleasure in 1690, of being a successful advocate for Lord Clarendon, who had engaged in a plot against the king, and been one of the Dr's bitterest enemies, at the time when popery and arbitrary power were in favour.

During the life of Mary, Dr Burnet being generally one of her advisers, the affairs of the church passed wholly through his hands. After her death, in 1694, a commission was granted for that purpose to the two archbishops and four prelates, of whom Dr Burnet was one. A commission of the same kind was granted in 1700, and the Doctor still continued a member. In 1698, he was appointed preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester, and, on that occasion, insisted on giving up his bishopric. King William, however, would not allow him to do so; but, in order to soothe him, made arrangements that he might be at hand, and still have it in his power to pay considerable attention to his diocese. In this high trust the bishop conducted himself so as to have the entire approbation of the princess of Denmark, who ever after retained a peculiar affection for him, of which he had many sensible tokens after she came to the throne; though in her last years he was in direct and open opposition to her measures. In the year 1699, he published his celebrated exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, and a short time before his death, a third volume of his History of the Reforma-

tion. In the month of March, 1715, he was attacked with a pleuritic fever, which carried him off, being in the seventy-second year of his age. He was married first to the Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Earl of Cassillis, celebrated for her beauty and her wit. Secondly, to Mrs Mary Scott, a Dutch lady of noble extraction and large fortune, by whom he had three sons. Thirdly, to Mrs Berkeley, a widow lady of singular talents and uncommon piety, by whom he had no issue. From the brief sketch which we have given of the principal events of his life, it is evident that Dr Burnet possessed a vigorous understanding, and was a man of great piety, and unwearied perseverance. Early prepossessions, however, which, vigorous as his understanding was, he evidently could not overcome, made him the dupe of a system antisciptural and superstitious—a system which whatever it may seem to promise in theory, has in practice been found cumbersome and inefficient—a system which, while it provides for the pampering of a few of the privileged orders of the clergy, leaves all the rest, together with the great body of the people, to pine and perish in want, contentment, and ignorance. What man as a bishop could do, Dr Burnet, while bishop of Salisbury, appears to have done; but he was hampered on all hands by insurmountable abuses originally inherent, or growing naturally out of the legalised order of things. His consistorial court he found to have become a grievance both to clergy and laity, and he attended for years in person to correct it. But the true foundation of complaint he found to be the dilatory course of proceedings, and the exorbitant fees, which he had no authority to correct. He could not even discharge poor suitors who were oppressed with vexatious prosecutions, otherwise than by paying their fees out of his own pocket, which he frequently did, and this was all the reform he was able to accomplish. In admitting to orders, he met with so much ignorance and thoughtless levity, that for the benefit of the church he formed a nursery at Salisbury, under his own eye, for students of divinity, to the number of ten, to each of whom he allowed a sum of money out of his own income for his subsistence, and in this way he reared up several young men who became eminent in the church; but this was soon discovered to be a designed affront put upon the method of education followed at Oxford, and he was compelled to give it up. Pluralities he exclaimed against as sacrilegious robbery, and in his first visitation at Salisbury quoted St Bernard, who, being consulted by a priest, whether he might not accept of two benefices, replied, ‘And how will you be able to serve them.’ ‘I intend,’ said the priest, ‘to officiate in one of them by deputy.’ ‘Will your deputy be damned for you too,’ said the saint; ‘believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person.’ This quotation so affected one of his hearers, Mr Kilsey, that he resigned the rectory of Bemerton, worth two hundred pounds a year, which he held along with one of still greater value. The bishop was, at the same time, from the poverty of the living, frequently under the necessity of joining two of them together to have them served at all, and sometimes he found it necessary to help the incumbent out of his own pocket into the bargain. These, with other evils, it must be admitted, the Doctor lost no opportunity to attempt having redressed, but alas! they were and are inherent in the system, without a reform in which, they admit of no cure. He travelled over his diocese which he found “ignorant to scandal,” catechising and confirming with the zeal of an apostle; and when he attended his duty in parliament, he preached in some of the London churches every Sabbath morning, and in the evening lectured in his own house, where a number of persons of distinction attended. So much conscientious diligence, confined to a legitimate locality, could scarcely have failed to produce a rich harvest of gospel fruits. Scattered as it was over such a wide surface, there is reason to fear that it was in a great measure unpro-



fitable. While Dr Burnet was a diligent instructor from the pulpit, he was not less so from the press, having published in his life-time fifty-eight single sermons, thirteen treatises or tracts on divinity, seventeen upon popery, twenty-six political and miscellaneous, and twenty-four historical and biographical, to which we may add the History of his Own Time, published since his death. Some of these, particularly the Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, the History of the Reformation, and of his own times, still are, and must long continue to be, especially the latter, standard works. The History of his Own Time, it has been happily observed, has received the best testimony to its worth from its having given equal offence to the bigoted and interested of all parties. Take him all in all, perhaps no juster eulogium has been passed upon him than that of Wodrow, who, speaking of him as one of Leighton's preachers, calls him "Mr Gilbert Burnet, well known to the world since, first professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and after that persecuted, for his appearing against popery, and for the cause of liberty, and since the Revolution the learned and moderate bishop of Sarum, one of the great eye-sores of the high-fliers and Tories of England, and a very great ornament to his native country."

BURNET, JAMES, better known by his judicial designation of Lord Monboddo, was born at Monboddo, in Kincardineshire, in the year 1714. He was eldest surviving son of James Burnet, by Elizabeth Forbes, only sister to Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, Baronet. For what reason is not known, but, instead of being sent to a public school, he was educated at home, under the care of Dr Francis Skene, afterwards professor of philosophy at the Marischal College, Aberdeen. This gentleman discharged his duty to his pupil with the utmost faithfulness, and succeeded in inspiring him with a taste for ancient literature. He was the first that introduced him to an acquaintance with the philosophy of the ancients, of which Mr Burnet became so enthusiastic an admirer. Dr Skene, being promoted to a professorship, was the more immediate cause of his pupil accompanying him to Aberdeen, and of his being educated at the Marischal College in that city. It is probable that he lodged with his preceptor, who of course would direct and superintend his studies. Dr Skene was a professor in that seminary for the long period of forty-one years, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the most diligent and laborious teachers that ever held the honourable office.

What contributed, in a great degree, to fix Mr Burnet's attention upon the literature and philosophy of the Greeks, was not only the instructions he had received at home from his tutor, but that, when he entered the university, Principal Blackwell had for several years been professor of Greek. This person was the great means of reviving the study of this noble language in the north of Scotland; and one of his greatest admirers, and zealous imitators in the prosecution of Grecian learning, was Mr Burnet. Esteeming the philosophical works transmitted to us by the Romans as only copies, or borrowed from the Greeks, he determined to have recourse to the fountain head. Burnet was naturally a man of very keen passions, of an independent tone of thinking, and whatever opinion he once espoused, he was neither ashamed nor afraid to avow it openly. He dreaded no consequences, neither did he regard the opinions of others. If he had the authority of Plato or Aristotle, he was quite satisfied, and, how paradoxical soever the sentiment might be, or contrary to what was popular or generally received, he did not in the least regard. Revolutions of various kinds were beginning to be introduced into the schools; but these he either neglected or despised. The Newtonian philosophy in particular had begun to attract attention, and public lecturers upon its leading doctrines had been established in almost all the British universities; but their very novelty was a sufficient reason

for his neglecting them. The laws by which the material world is regulated, were considered by him as of vastly inferior importance to what regarded *mind*, and its diversified operations. To the contemplation of the latter, therefore, his chief study was directed.

Having been early designed for the Scottish bar, he wisely resolved to lay a good foundation, and to suffer nothing to interfere with what was now to be the main business of his life. To obtain eminence in the profession of the law, depends less upon contingencies, than in any of the other learned professions. Wealth, splendid connections, and circumstances merely casual, have brought forward many physicians and divines, who had nothing else to recommend them. But though these may be excellent subsidiaries, they are not sufficient of themselves to constitute a distinguished lawyer. Besides good natural abilities, the most severe application, and uncommon diligence in the acquisition of extensive legal knowledge, are absolutely necessary. At every step the neophyte is obliged to make trial of his strength with his opponents, and as the public are seldom in a mistake for any length of time, where their interests are materially concerned, his station is very soon fixed. The intimate connection that subsists between the civil or Roman law, and the law of Scotland, is well known. The one is founded upon the other. According to the custom of Scotland at that time, Burnet repaired to Holland, where the best masters in this study were then settled. At the university of Groningen he remained for three years, assiduously attending the lectures on the civil law. He then returned to his native country so perfectly accomplished as a civilian, that, during the course of a long life, his opinions on difficult points of this law were highly respected.

He happened to arrive in Edinburgh from Holland on the night of Porteous' mob. His lodgings were in the Lawnmarket, in the vicinity of the Tolbooth, and hearing a great noise in the street, from a motive of curiosity he sallied forth to witness the scene. Some person, however, had recognised him, and it was currently reported that he was one of the ringleaders. He was likely to have been put to some trouble on this account, had he not been able to prove that he had just arrived from abroad, and therefore could know nothing of what was in agitation. He was wont to relate with great spirit the circumstances that attended this singular transaction.

In 1737, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and in process of time came into considerable practice. His chief patrons in early life, were lord justice clerk Milton, lord president Forbes, and Erskine lord Tinwald, or Alva. The last had been a professor in the university of Edinburgh, and being an excellent Greek scholar, knew how to estimate his talents.

During the rebellion of 1745, Burnet went to London, and prudently declining to take any part in the politics of that troublous period, he spent the time chiefly in the company and conversation of his literary friends. Among these were Thomson the poet, lord Littleton, and Dr Armstrong. When peace was restored, he returned to Scotland. About 1760, he married a beautiful and accomplished lady, Miss Farquharson, a relation of Marischal Keith, by whom he had a son and two daughters. What first brought him into very prominent notice, was the share he had in conducting the celebrated Douglas' cause. No question ever came before a court of law, which interested the public to a greater degree. In Scotland it became in a manner a national question, for the whole country was divided, and ranged on one side or the other. Mr Burnet was counsel for Mr Douglas, and went thrice to France to assist in leading the proof taken there. This he was well qualified to do, for, during his studies in Holland, he had acquired the practice of speaking the French language with great facility. Such interest did this cause excite, that the pleadings

before the court of session lasted thirty-one days, and the most eminent lawyers were engaged. It is a curious historical fact, that almost all the lawyers on both sides were afterwards raised to the bench. Mr Burnet was, in 1764, made sheriff of his native county, and on the 12th February, 1767, through the interest of the Duke of Queensberry, lord justice general, he succeeded Lord Milton as a lord of session, under the title of Lord Monboddo. It is said that he refused a justiciary gown, being unwilling that his studies should be interrupted, during the vacation, by any additional engagements.

The first work which he published was on the *Origin and Progress of Language*. The first volume appeared in 1771, the second in 1773, and the third in 1776. This treatise attracted a great deal of attention on account of the singularity of some of the doctrines which it advanced. In the first part, he gives a very learned, elaborate, and abstruse account of the origin of ideas, according to the metaphysics of Plato and the commentators on Aristotle, philosophers to whose writings and theories he was devotedly attached. He then treats of the origin of human society and of language, which he considers as a human invention, without paying the least regard to the scriptural accounts. He represents men as having originally been, and continued for many ages to be, no better than beasts, and indeed in many respects worse; as destitute of speech, of reason, of conscience, of social affection, and of every thing that can confer dignity upon a creature, and possessed of nothing but external sense and memory, and a capacity of improvement. The system is not a new one, being borrowed from Lucretius, of whose account of it, Horace gives an exact abridgment in these lines:—"Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris, mutum et turpe pecus," &c. which Lord Monboddo takes for his motto, and which, he said, comprehended in miniature the whole history of man. In regard to facts that make for his system he is amazingly credulous, but blind and sceptical in regard to every thing of an opposite tendency. He asserts with the utmost gravity and confidence, that the oran-outangs are of the human species—that in the bay of Bengal, there exists a nation of human creatures with tails, discovered one hundred and thirty years before by a Swedish skipper—that the beavers and sea-cats are social and political animals, though man, by nature, is neither social nor political, nor even rational—reason, reflection, a sense of right and wrong, society, policy, and even thought, being, in the human species, as much the effects of art, contrivance, and long experience, as writing, ship-building, or any other manufacture. Notwithstanding that the work contains these and many other strange and whimsical opinions, yet it discovers great acuteness of remark.

His greatest work, which he called "*Ancient Metaphysics*," consists of three volumes 4to., the last of which was published only a few weeks before the author's death. It may be considered as an exposition and defence of the Grecian philosophy in opposition to the philosophical system of Sir Isaac Newton, and the scepticism of modern metaphysicians, particularly Mr David Hume. His opinions upon many points coincide with those of Mr Harris, the author of *Hermes*, who was his intimate friend, and of whom he was a great admirer. He never seems to have understood, nor to have entered into the spirit of the Newtonian philosophy; and, as to Mr Hume, he, without any disguise, accuses him of atheism, and reprobates in the most severe terms some of his opinions.

In domestic circumstances Monboddo was particularly unfortunate. His wife, a very beautiful woman, died in child-bed. His son, a promising boy, in whose education he took great delight, was likewise snatched from his affections by a premature death; and his second daughter, in personal loveliness one of the first women of the age, was cut off by consumption, when only twenty-five years old.

BURNS, in an address to Edinburgh, thus celebrates the beauty and excellence of Miss Burnet :—

“Thy daughters bright thy walks adorn,  
 Gay as the gilded summer sky,  
 Sweet as the dewy milk-white thorn,  
 Dear as the raptur'd thrill of joy!  
 Fair Burnet strikes the adoring eye,  
 Heaven's beauties on my fancy shine;  
 I see the *Sire of love* on high,  
 And own his work indeed divine.”

His eldest daughter was married to Kirkpatrick Williamson, Esq. late keeper of the outer house rolls, who had been clerk to his lordship, and was eminent as a Greek scholar.

About 1780, he first began to make an annual journey to London, which he continued for a good many years, indeed, till he was upwards of eighty years of age. As a carriage was not a vehicle in use among the ancients, he determined never to enter and be seated in what he termed a box. He esteemed it as degrading to the dignity of human nature to be dragged at the tails of horses instead of being mounted on their backs. In his journeys between Edinburgh and London he therefore rode on horseback, attended by a single servant. On his last visit, he was taken ill on the road, and it was with difficulty that Sir Hector Monroe prevailed upon him to come into his carriage. He set out, however, next day on horseback, and arrived safe in Edinburgh by slow journeys.

Lord Monboddo being in London in 1785, visited the King's bench, when some part of the fixtures of the place giving way, a great scatter took place among the lawyers, and the very judges themselves rushed towards the door. Monboddo, somewhat near-sighted, and rather dull of hearing, sat still, and was the only man who did so. Being asked why he had not bestirred himself to avoid the ruin, he coolly answered, that he “thought it was an annual ceremony, with which, being an alien, he had nothing to do.”

When in the country he generally dressed in the style of a plain farmer; and lived among his tenants with the utmost familiarity, and treated them with great kindness. He used much the exercises of walking in the open air, and of riding. He had accustomed himself to the use of the cold bath in all seasons, and amid every severity of the weather. It is said that he even made use of the air bath, or occasionally walking about for some minutes naked in a room filled with fresh and cool air. In imitation of the ancients, the practice of anointing was not forgotten. The lotion he used was not the oil of the ancients, but a saponaceous liquid compound of rose water, olive oil, saline aromatic spirit, and Venice soap, which, when well mixed, resembles cream. This he applied at bed-time, before a large fire, after coming from the warm bath.

This learned and ingenious, though somewhat eccentric, man died upon the 26th May, 1799, at the advanced age of eighty-five years.

BURNS, ROBERT, a celebrated poet, was born January 25, 1759; died July 22, 1796. Of this illustrious genius I originally intended to have compiled an account, from the materials that have been already published, adding such new facts as have come in my way. But, having been much struck with the felicity of a narrative written by the unfortunate Robert Heron—which nearly answers my purpose as to length, and contains many fresh and striking views of the various situations in which the poet was placed in life, together with, what appears to me, a comprehensive and most eloquent estimate of his genius—I have been induced to prefer it to anything of my own. By this course I shall revive a very rare and interesting composition, which is often quoted, but seldom seen.

and present to the reader, not only an uncommonly clear view of the life and character of Burns, but also a specimen of the animated and nervous, though somewhat turgid, style of Heron, whose literary history is scarcely less remarkable than that of the Ayrshire bard. The reader will find the text occasionally corrected and illustrated by notes, as also a short poetical relique of Burns, which first appeared in the original edition of this work.

Robert Burns was a native of Ayrshire, one of the western counties of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of humble parents; and his father passed through life in the condition of a hired labourer, or of a small farmer.<sup>2</sup> Even in this situation, however, it was not hard for him to send his children to the parish school, to receive the ordinary instructions in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of religion. By this course of education, young Robert profited to a degree that might have encouraged his friends to destine him to one of the liberal professions, had not his father's poverty made it necessary to remove him from school, as soon as he had grown up, to earn for himself the means of support, as a hired plough-boy, or shepherd.<sup>3</sup>

The establishment of parish schools, but for which, perhaps, the infant energies of this young genius might never have received that first impulse, by which alone they were to be excited into action, is one of the most beneficial that have ever been instituted in this country; and one which, I believe, is no where so firmly fixed, or extended so completely throughout a whole kingdom, as in Scotland. Here, every parish has a schoolmaster, almost as invariably as it has a clergyman. For a sum, rarely exceeding twenty pounds, in salary and fees, this person instructs the children of the parish in reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, Latin, and Greek. The schoolmasters are generally students in philosophy or theology; and hence, the establishment of the parish schools, beside its direct utilities, possesses also the accidental advantage of furnishing an excellent school of future candidates for the office of parochial clergymen. So small are the fees for teaching, that no parents, however poor, can want the means to give their children, at least such education at school, as young Burns received. From the spring labours of a plough-boy, from the summer employment of a

<sup>1</sup> He was born in a clay-built cottage, about two miles to the south of the town of Ayr, within the abrogated parish of Alloway, and in the immediate vicinity of the ruined church of that parish, which he has immortalized in his *Tam o' Shanter*.

<sup>2</sup> His father, William Burness—for so he always spelt his name—was the son of a farmer in Kincardineshire, and had removed from that county to Ayrshire, at nineteen years of age, in consequence of domestic embarrassments. Some collateral relations of Burns fill a respectable station in society at Montrose. William Burness was one of those intelligent, thoughtful, and virtuous characters who have contributed to raise the reputation of the Scottish peasantry to its present lofty height. From him the poet derived an immense store of knowledge, an habitual feeling of piety, and, what will astonish most of all, great acquaintance with the world and the ways of mankind. After supporting himself for some years as gardener to Mr Ferguson of Doonholm, the father took a small farm (Mount Oilphant) from that gentleman, to which he removed when the poet was between six and seven years of age. He subsequently removed to the farm of Lochlea, in the parish of Tarbolton, where he died, in 1784, in very embarrassed circumstances.

The mother of Burns was Agnes Brown, the daughter of a race of Ayrshire peasants. She survived her son about thirty years, and died at an advanced age.

<sup>3</sup> The circumstances of Burns' education are well known: he learned English, writing, arithmetic, a little mathematics, some Latin, and a smattering of French. He had contrived in his early years to obtain a perusal of many English classical works, and some translations of the ancient poets. The first book which he read was the *Man of Feeling*, by Mackenzie; of which work he used to say he had worn out two copies, by carrying it in his pocket.—*See a life of Burns in Scots Magazine*, 1797. His favourite books, at a very early period, were a *Life of Hannibal*, and the well-known paraphrase of Blind Harry's *Life of Wallace*, by Hamilton of Gilbertfield—the latter had certainly helped to give a strongly national bent to his mind.

The statement in the text as to his having become a hired plough-boy, does not receive confirmation from any other source, and is probably incorrect.

shepherd, the peasant youth often returns, for a few months, eagerly to pursue his education at the parish school.

It was so with Burns; he returned from labour to learning, and from learning went again to labour, till his mind began to open to the charms of taste and knowledge; till he began to feel a passion for books, and for the subjects of books, which was to give a colour to the whole thread of his future life. On nature he soon began to gaze with new discernment, and with new enthusiasm: his mind's eye opened to perceive affecting beauty and sublimity, where, by the mere gross peasant there was nought to be seen but water, earth, and sky, but animals, plants, and soil; even as the eyes of the servant of Elisha were suddenly enlightened to behold his master and himself guarded from the Syrian bands, by horses and chariots of fire, to all but themselves invisible.

What might, perhaps, first contribute to dispose his mind to poetical efforts, is one particular in the devotional piety of the Scottish peasantry; it is still common for them to make their children get by heart the Psalms of David, in that version of homely rhymes, which is used in their churches. In the morning, and in the evening of every day, or, at least in the evening of every Saturday and Sunday, these psalms are sung in solemn family devotion, a chapter of the Bible is read, and extemporary prayer is fervently uttered.<sup>4</sup> The whole books of the sacred Scriptures are thus continually in the hands of almost every peasant. And it is impossible that some souls should not occasionally be awakened among them to the divine emotions of genius, by that rich assemblage, which those books present, of almost all that is interesting in incident, or picturesque in imagery, or affectingly sublime, or tender in sentiments or character. It is impossible that those rude rhymes, and the simple artless music with which they are accompanied, should not occasionally excite some ear to a taste for the melody of verse. That Burns had felt these impulses, will appear undeniably certain to whoever shall carefully peruse his *Cottar's Saturday Night*; or shall remark, with nice observation, the various fragments of scripture sentiment, of scripture imagery, of scripture language, which are scattered throughout his works.

Still more interesting to the young peasantry, are the ancient ballads of love and war, of which a great number are yet popularly known and sung in Scotland. While the prevalence of the Gaelic language in the northern parts of this country, excluded from those regions the old Anglo-Saxon songs and minstrels; these songs and minstrels were, in the meantime, driven by the Norman conquests and establishments, out of the southern counties of England; and were forced to wander, in exile, beyond its northern confine, into the southern districts of the Scottish kingdom. Hence in the old English songs, is every famous minstrel still related to have been of the north country, while, on the contrary, in the old Scottish songs, it is always the south country, to which every favourite minstrel is said to belong. It is the same district to which both allude; a district comprehending precisely the southern counties of Scotland, with the most northern counties of England. In the south of Scotland the best of those ballads are often sung by the rustic maid or matron at her spinning wheel. They are listened to with ravished ears, by old and young. Their rude melody; that mingled curiosity and awe, which are naturally excited by the very idea of their antiquity; the exquisitely tender and natural complaints sometimes poured forth in them; the gallant deeds of knightly heroism, which they sometimes celebrate; their wild tales of demons, ghosts, and fairies, in whose existence superstition alone has believed; the manners which they represent; the obsolete, yet picturesque and expressive language, in which they

<sup>4</sup> William Burness looked upon his son Robert as the best reader in the house, and used to employ him to read the Bible to the rest.—*Scots Magazine*, 1797.

are often clothed, give them wonderful power to transport every imagination and every heart. To the soul of Burns, they were like a happy breeze touching the wires of an Æolian harp, and calling forth the most ravishing melody.

Beside all this, the *Gentle Shepherd* and the other poems of Allan Ramsay, have long been highly popular in Scotland. They fell early into the hands of Burns; and while the fond applause which they received, drew his emulation, they presented to him likewise treasures of phraseology, and models of versification. Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine* was during this time published; was supported chiefly by the original communications of correspondents, and found a very extensive sale. In it, Burns read the poetry of Robert Ferguson, written chiefly in the Scottish dialect, and exhibiting many specimens of uncommon poetical excellence. The *Seasons* of Thomson, too, the *Grave of Blair*, the far-famed *Elegy of Gray*, the *Paradise Lost* of Milton, perhaps the *Minstrel of Beattie*, were so commonly read, even among those with whom Burns would naturally associate, that poetical curiosity, although even less ardent than his, could, in such circumstances, have little difficulty in procuring them.

With such means to give his imagination a poetical bias, and to favour the culture of his taste and genius, Burns gradually became a poet.<sup>1</sup> He was not, however, one of those forward children, who, from a mistaken impulse, begin prematurely to write and to rhyme, and hence never attain to excellence. Conversing familiarly for a long while with the works of those poets who were known to him: contemplating the aspect of nature, in a district which exhibits an uncommon assemblage of the beautiful and the ruggedly grand, of the cultivated and the wild; looking upon human life with an eye quick and keen to remark, as well the stronger and leading, as the nicer and subordinate features of character—to discriminate the generous, the honourable, the manly, in conduct, from the ridiculous, the base, and the mean; he was distinguished among his fellows for extraordinary intelligence, good sense, and penetration, long before others, or perhaps even himself, suspected him to be capable of writing verses. His mind was mature, and well stored with such knowledge as lay within his reach; he had made himself master of powers of language, superior to those of almost any former writer in the Scottish dialect, before he conceived the idea of surpassing Ramsay and Ferguson.

In the meantime, besides the studious bent of his genius, there were some other particulars in his opening character, which might seem to mark him for a poet. He began early in life, to regard with a sort of sullen aversion and disdain, all that was sordid in the pursuits and interests of the peasants among whom he was placed. He became discontented with the humble labours to which he saw himself confined, and with the poor subsistence he was able to earn by them. He could not help looking upon the rich and great whom he saw around him, with an emotion between envy and contempt; as if something had still whispered to his heart, that there was injustice in the external inequality between his fate and their's. While such emotions arose in his mind, he conceived an inclination, very common among the young men of the more uncultivated parts of Scotland—to emigrate to America, or the West Indies, in quest of a better fortune;<sup>2</sup> at the same time, his heart was expanded with pas-

<sup>1</sup> He himself relates that he first wrote verses in his sixteenth year, the subject being a comely lass of the name of Nelly, who was associated with him after the usual fashion on the *harvest-rig*.

<sup>2</sup> His father, in his sixteenth year, had removed to Lochlea in Tarbolton parish, where the old man died of a broken heart in 1784. Burns, and his younger brother Gilbert, then took the small farm of Mossgeil, near Mauchline, which they cultivated in partnership for some time, till want of success, and the consequences of an illicit amour, induced the poet to think of leaving his native country. He was, strictly speaking, a farmer, and not a plough-

sionate ardour, to meet the impressions of love and friendship. With several of the young peasantry, who were his fellows in labour, he contracted an affectionate intimacy of acquaintance. He eagerly sought admission into the brotherhood of free masons, which is recommended to the young men of this country, by nothing so much as by its seeming to extend the sphere of agreeable acquaintance, and to knit closer the bonds of friendly endearment. In some mason lodges in his neighbourhood, Burns had soon the fortune, whether good or bad, to gain the notice of several gentlemen, better able to estimate the true value of such a mind as his, than were his fellow peasants, with whom alone he had hitherto associated. One or two of them might be men of convivial dispositions, and of religious notions rather licentious than narrow; who encouraged his talents, by occasionally inviting him to be the companion of their looser hours; and who were at times not ill pleased to direct the force of his wit and humour, against those sacred things which they affected outwardly to despise as mere bugbears, while they could not help inwardly trembling before them, as realities. For a while, the native rectitude of his understanding, and the excellent principles in which his infancy had been educated, withstood every temptation to intemperance or impiety. Alas! it was not always so.—When his heart was first struck by the charms of village beauty, the love he felt was pure, tender, simple, and sincere, as that of the youth and maiden in his Cottar's Saturday Night. If the ardour of his passion hurried him afterwards to triumph over the chastity of the maid he loved; the tenderness of his heart, the manly honesty of his soul, soon made him offer, with eager solicitude, to repair the injury by marriage.<sup>2</sup>

About this time, in the progress of his life and character, did he first begin to be distinguished as a poet. A masonic song, a satirical epigram, a rhyming epistle to a friend, attempted with success, taught him to know his own powers, and gave him confidence to try tasks more arduous, and which should command still higher bursts of applause. The annual celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the rural parishes of Scotland, has much in it of those old

man, at the time when his book brought him into notice; though it must be acknowledged he took his full share of farm labour of all kinds. Some of his best poems were written as he was driving the plough over the leas of Mossgeil.

<sup>2</sup> Burns was early distinguished for his admiration of the fair sex. One of his first and purest attachments was to a girl named Mary Campbell, who—the truth must be told—was neither more nor less than the *byres-woman* or dairymaid at Colonel Montgomery's house of Coilsfield. He intended to marry this person, but she died at Greenock on her return from a visit to her relations in Argyleshire. It is a strange instance of the power of Burns' imagination and passion, that he has celebrated this poor peasant girl in strains of affection and lamentation, such as might have embalmed the memory of the proudest dame that ever poet worshipped. In his poem, beginning—

“Ye banks, and braes, and streams around  
The castle of Montgomerie,”

He describes in the most beautiful language their tender and final parting on the banks of the Ayr. At a later period of life, on the anniversary of that hallowed day, he devoted a night to a poetic vigil in the open air, and produced his deeply pathetic elegy to her memory, commencing—

“Thou lingering star, with lessening ray.”

And all this beautiful poetry was written by a Scottish peasant in reference to a *byres-woman*.

The attachment alluded to in the text was to Miss Jean Armour, the daughter of a mason in Mauchline. Burns proposed at first that their guilt should be palliated by a matrimonial union; but, as his circumstances were desperate, his character not admired by the more sober and calculating villagers, and as he proposed to seek an establishment for his wife in a distant land, the father of his unfortunate partner preferred the alternative of keeping her single and degraded, to permitting her to attach herself to the fortunes of her lover, even though a certain degree of respectability was to be secured by that course. It was not till after the poet had acquired fortune and fame by his writings, and, we blush to say, after a second transgression, that he was regularly married. On both of these occasions the lady produced twins.—See *Lockhart's Life of Burns*.



popish festivals, in which superstition, traffic, and amusement, used to be so strangely intermingled. Burns saw, and seized in it one of the happiest of all subjects, to afford scope for the display of that strong and piercing sagacity by which he could almost intuitively distinguish the reasonable from the absurd, and the becoming from the ridiculous;—of that picturesque power of fancy, which enabled him to represent scenes, and persons, and groupes, and looks, attitude, and gesture, in a manner almost as lively and impressive, even in words, as if all the artifices and energies of the pencil had been employed;—of that knowledge which he had necessarily acquired of the manners, passions, and prejudices of the rustics around him—of whatever was ridiculous, no less than of whatever was affectingly beautiful, in rural life. A thousand prejudices of popish, and perhaps too, of ruder pagan superstition, have, from time immemorial, been connected in the minds of the Scottish peasantry, with the annual recurrence of the Eve of the Festival of all the Saints, or *Halloween*. These were all intimately known to Burns, and had made a powerful impression upon his imagination and feelings. He chose them for the subject of a poem, and produced a piece, which is the delight of those who are best acquainted with its subject; and which will not fail to preserve the memory of the prejudices and usages which it describes, when they shall, perhaps, have ceased to give one merry evening in the year, to the cottage fireside. The simple joys, the honest love, the sincere friendship, the ardent devotion of the cottage; whatever in the more solemn part of the rustic's life is humble and artless, without being mean or unseemly—or tender and dignified, without aspiring to stilted grandeur, or to unnatural, buskined pathos—had deeply impressed the imagination of the rising poet; had in some sort wrought itself into the very texture of the fibres of his soul. He tried to express in verse, what he most tenderly felt, what he most enthusiastically imagined; and produced the *Cottar's Saturday Night*.

These pieces, the true effusions of genius, informed by reading and observation, and prompted by his own native ardour, as well as by friendly applause, were soon handed about among the most discerning of Burns' acquaintance; and were by every new reader perused, and re-perused, with an eagerness of delight and approbation, which would not suffer him long to withhold them from the press. A subscription was proposed,<sup>1</sup> was earnestly promoted by some gentlemen, who were glad to interest themselves in behalf of such signal poetical merit; was soon crowded with the names of a considerable number of the inhabitants of Ayrshire, who, in the proffered purchase, sought not less to gratify their own passion for Scottish poesy, than to encourage the wonderful ploughman. At Kilmarnock, were the poems of Burns, for the first time, printed. The whole edition was quickly distributed over the country.

It is hardly possible to express, with what eager admiration and delight they were every where received. They eminently possessed all those qualities which can contribute to render any literary work quickly and permanently popular. They were written in a phraseology, of which all the powers were universally felt; and which being at once antique, familiar, and now rarely written, was hence fitted to serve all the dignified and picturesque uses of poetry, without making it unintelligible. The imagery, the sentiments, were, at once, faithfully natural, and irresistibly impressive and interesting. Those topics of satire and scandal in which the rustic delights; that humorous delineation of character, and that witty association of ideas, familiar and striking, yet not naturally allied to one another, which has force to shake his sides with laughter; those fancies of superstition, at which he still wonders and trembles; those

<sup>1</sup> It was chiefly in order to raise the means of transporting himself to the West Indies, that Burns first published his poems.

affecting sentiments and images of true religion, which are at once dear and awful to his heart, were represented by Burns with all a poet's magic power. Old and young, high and low, grave and gay, learned or ignorant, all were alike delighted, agitated, transported. I was at that time resident in Galloway, contiguous to Ayrshire, and I can well remember, how that even plough-boys and maid-servants would have gladly parted with the wages which they earned the most hardly, and which they wanted to purchase necessary clothing, if they might but procure the works of Burns. A copy happened to be presented from a gentleman in Ayrshire to a friend in my neighbourhood; he put it into my hands, as a work containing some effusions of the most extraordinary genius. I took it, rather that I might not disoblige the lender, than from any ardour of curiosity or expectation. "An unlettered ploughman, a poet?" said I, with contemptuous incredulity. It was on a Saturday evening. I opened the volume, by accident, while I was undressing to go to bed. I closed it not, till a late hour on the rising Sunday morn, after I had read over every syllable it contained. And,

*Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis!—VIRG. EC. 2.*

In the meantime, some few copies of these fascinating poems found their way to Edinburgh: and one was communicated to the late amiable and ingenious Dr Thomas Blacklock. There was, perhaps, never one among all mankind, whom you might more truly have called an angel upon earth, than Dr Blacklock: he was guileless and innocent as a child, yet endowed with manly sagacity and penetration; his heart was a perpetual spring of overflowing benignity; his feelings were all tremblingly alive to the sense of the sublime, the beautiful, the tender, the pious, the virtuous:—poetry was to him the dear solace of perpetual blindness; cheerfulness, even to gaiety, was, notwithstanding that irremediable misfortune under which he laboured, long the predominant colour of his mind: in his latter years, when the gloom might otherwise have thickened around him, hope, faith, devotion the most fervent and sublime, exalted his mind to heaven, and made him maintain his wonted cheerfulness, in the expectation of a speedy dissolution.

This amiable man of genius read the poems of Burns with a nice perception, with a tremblingly impassioned feeling, of all their beauties. Amid that tumult of emotions, of benevolence, curiosity, admiration, which were thus excited in his bosom, he eagerly addressed some encouraging verses to the rustic bard; which conveying the praises of a poet, and a judge of poetical composition, were much more grateful to Burns than any applauses he had before received from others. It was Blacklock's invitation that finally determined him to abandon his first intentions of going abroad to the West Indies; and rather to repair to Edinburgh, with his book, in hopes there to find some powerful patron, and perhaps, to make his fortune by his poetry.

In the beginning of the winter 1786-87,<sup>2</sup> Burns came to Edinburgh; by Dr Blacklock he was received with the most flattering kindness; and was eagerly introduced to every person of taste and generosity among the good old man's friends. It was little that Blacklock had it in his power to do for a brother poet; but that little he did with a fond alacrity, and with a modest grace, which made it ten times more pleasing, and more effectually useful to him, in whose favour it was exercised, than even the very same services would have been from almost any other benefactor. Others soon officiously interposed to share with Blacklock, in the honour of patronising Burns. He had brought

<sup>2</sup> November, 1786.

from his Ayrshire friends, some letters of recommendation: some of his rural acquaintance coming, as well as himself, to Edinburgh, for the winter, did him what offices of kindness they conveniently could.<sup>1</sup> Those very few, who possessed at once true taste and ardent philanthropy, were soon earnestly united in his praise: they who were disposed to favour any good thing belonging to Scotland, purely because it was Scottish, gladly joined the cry; those who had hearts and understandings to be charmed, without knowing why, when they saw their native customs, manners, and language, made subjects and materials of poesy, could not suppress that voice of feeling which struggled to declare itself for Burns: for the dissipated, the licentious, the malignant wits, and the free-thinkers he was so unfortunate as to have satire, and obscenity, and ridicule of things sacred, sufficient to captivate their fancies: even for the pious, he had passages in which the inspired language of devotion might seem to come from his tongue: and then, to charm those whom nought can delight but wonders, whose taste leads them to admire only such things as a juggler eating fire, a person who can converse as if his organs of speech were in his belly, a lame sailor writing with his toes for want of fingers, a peer or a ploughman making verses, a small coal-man directing a concert—why, to those people the Ayrshire poet might seem precisely one of the most wonderful of the wonders after which they were wont to gaze. Thus did Burns, ere he had been many weeks in Edinburgh, find himself the object of universal curiosity, favour, admiration, and fondness. He was sought after, courted with attentions the most respectful and assiduous, feasted, flattered, caressed, treated by all ranks as the first boast of our country; whom it was scarcely possible to honour and reward to a degree equal to his merits. In comparison with the general favour which now promised to more than crown his most sanguine hopes, it could hardly be called praise at all, which he had obtained in Ayrshire.

In this posture of the poet's affairs, a new edition of his poems was earnestly called for; he sold the copy-right to Mr Creech, for one hundred pounds; but his friends, at the same time, suggested, and actively promoted a subscription for an edition, to be published for the benefit of the author, ere the bookseller's right should commence. Those gentlemen who had formerly entertained the public of Edinburgh with the periodical publication of the papers of the *Mirror*, having again combined their talents in producing the *Lounger*, were, at this time, about to conclude this last series of papers; yet, before the *Lounger* relinquished his pen, he dedicated a number to a commendatory criticism of the poems of the Ayrshire bard. That criticism is now known to have been written by the Honourable Lord Craig, one of the senators of the college of justice, who had adorned the *Mirror* with a finely written essay, in recommendation of the poetry of Michael Bruce. The subscription-papers were rapidly filled; the ladies, especially, vied with one another who should be the first to subscribe, and who should procure the greatest number of other subscribers, for the poems of a bard who was now, for some moments, the idol of fashion. The Caledonian Hunt, a gay club, composed of the most opulent and fashionable young men in Scotland, professed themselves the patrons of the Scottish poet, and eagerly encouraged the proposed republication of his poems. Six shillings was all the subscription-money demanded for each copy; but many voluntarily paid half a guinea, a guinea, or two guineas; and it was supposed that the poet

<sup>1</sup> He resided during the whole winter in the lodgings of one of his Mauchline acquaintances, Mr John Richmond, who had come to Edinburgh in order to study the law. One room and one bed served both. It was from this humble scene in the Lawnmarket, that he issued to attend the brilliant parties of the duchess of Gordon and other fashionables, and to this den he retired, after hours spent amid the lustres of the most splendid apartments in the new town.

might derive from the subscription, and the sale of his copy-right, a clear profit of, at least, seven hundred pounds; a sum that, to a man who had hitherto lived in his indigent circumstances, would be absolutely more than the vainly expected wealth of Sir Epicure Mammon.

Burns, in the mean time, led a life differing from that of his original condition in Ayrshire, almost as widely as differed the scenes and amusements of London, to which Omiah was introduced under the patronage of the Earl of Sandwich, from those with which he had been familiar in the Friendly Isles. The conversation of even the most eminent authors, is often found to be so unequal to the fame of their writings, that he who reads with admiration, can listen with none but sentiments of the most profound contempt. But the conversation of Burns was, in comparison with the formal and exterior circumstances of his education, perhaps even more wonderful than his poetry. He affected no soft airs, or graceful motions of politeness, which might have ill accorded with the rustic plainness of his native manners. Conscious superiority of mind taught him to associate with the great, the learned, and the gay, without being overawed into any such bashfulness as might have made him confused in thought, or hesitating in elocution. He possessed, withal, an extraordinary share of plain common sense, or mother wit, which prevented him from obtruding upon persons, of whatever rank, with whom he was admitted to converse, any of those effusions of vanity, envy, or self-conceit, in which authors are exceedingly apt to indulge, who have lived remote from the general practice of life, and whose minds have been almost exclusively confined to contemplate their own studies and their works. In conversation he displayed a sort of intuitive quickness and rectitude of judgment upon every subject that arose. The sensibility of his heart, and the vivacity of his fancy, gave a rich colouring to whatever reasoning he was disposed to advance; and his language in conversation was not at all less happy than in his writings. For these reasons he did not cease to please immediately after he had been once seen. Those who had met and conversed with him once, were pleased to meet and converse with him again and again. I remember that the late Dr Robertson once observed to me, that he had scarcely ever met with any man whose conversation discovered greater vigour and activity of mind than that of Burns. Every one wondered that the rustic bard was not spoiled by so much caressing, favour, and flattery, as he found; and every one went on to spoil him, by continually repeating all these, as if with an obstinate resolution, that they should, in the end, produce their effect. Nothing, however, of change in his manners appeared, at least for a while, to show that this was at all likely to happen. He, indeed, maintained himself, with considerable spirit, upon a footing of equality with all whom he had occasion to associate or converse with; yet he never arrogated any superiority, save what the fair and manly exertion of his powers, at the time, could undeniably command. Had he but been able to give a steady preference to the society of the virtuous, the learned, and the wise, rather than to that of the gay and the dissolute, it is probable that he could not have failed to rise to an exaltation of character and of talents fitted to do honour to human nature.

Unfortunately, however, that happened which was natural in those unaccustomed circumstances in which Burns found himself placed. He could not assume enough of superciliousness to reject the familiarity of all those who, without any sincere kindness for him, importunately pressed to obtain his acquaintance and intimacy. He was insensibly led to associate less with the learned, and austere, and the rigorously temperate, than with the young, with the votaries of intemperate joys, with persons to whom he was commended chiefly by licentious wit, and with whom he could not long associate without sharing in the excesses of

their debauchery.<sup>1</sup> Even in the country, men of this sort had begun to fasten on him, and to seduce him to embellish the gross pleasures of their looser hours, with the charms of his wit and fancy. And yet I have been informed by Mr Arthur Bruce, a gentleman of great worth and discernment, to whom Burns was, in his earlier days, well known, that he had, in those times, seen the poet steadily resist such solicitations and allurements to excess in convivial enjoyment, as scarcely any other could have withstood. But the enticements of pleasure too often unman our virtuous resolution, even while we wear the air of rejecting them with a stern brow; we resist, and resist, and resist; but, at last, suddenly urn and passionately embrace the enchantress. The bucks of Edinburgh accomplished, in regard to Burns, that in which the boors of Ayrshire had failed. After residing some months in Edinburgh, he began to estrange himself, not altogether, but in some measure, from the society of his graver friends. Too many of his hours were now spent at the tables of persons who delighted to urge conviviality to drunkenness in the tavern, or even in less commendable society. He suffered himself to be surrounded by a race of miserable beings, who were proud to tell that they had been in company with Burns; and had seen Burns as loose and as foolish as themselves. He was not yet irrecoverably lost to temperance and moderation, but he was already almost too much captivated with these wanton revels, to be ever more won back to a faithful attachment to their more sober charms. He now also began to contract something of new arrogance in conversation. Accustomed to be, among his favourite associates, what is vulgarly but expressively called "the cock of the company," he could scarcely refrain from indulging in similar freedom, and dictatorial decision of talk, even in the presence of persons who could less patiently endure his presumption.<sup>2</sup>

Thus passed two winters, and an intervening summer, of the life of Burns. The subscription edition of his poems, in the meantime, appeared; and, although not enlarged beyond that which came from the Kilmarnock press, by any new pieces of eminent merit, did not fail to give entire satisfaction to the subscribers. He at one time, during this period, accompanied, for a few weeks, into Berwickshire, Robert Ainslie, Esq. [Writer to the Signet], a gentleman of the purest and most correct manners,<sup>3</sup> who was accustomed sometimes to soothe the toils of a laborious profession, by an occasional converse with polite litera-

<sup>1</sup> Burns came to Edinburgh at an unfortunate time—a time of greater licentiousness, perhaps, in all the capitals of Europe, and this northern one among the rest, than had been known for a long period. Men of the best education and rank at this time drank like the Scandinavian barbarians of olden time; and in general there was little refinement in the amusements of any class of the community.

<sup>2</sup> With companions and friends, who claimed no superiority in anything, the sensitive mind of Burns must have been at its best and happiest, because completely at its ease, and free movement given to the play of all its feelings and faculties; and, in such companies, we cannot but believe that his wonderful conversational powers shone forth in their most various splendour. He must have given vent there to a thousand familiar fancies, in all their freedom and all their force; which, in the fastidious society of high life, his imagination must have been too much fettered even to conceive; and which, had they flowed from his lips, would either not have been understood, or would have given offence to that delicacy of breeding which is often hurt even by the best manners of those whose manners are all of nature's teaching, and unsubjected to the salutary restraints of artificial life. Indeed, we know that Burns sometimes burst suddenly and alarmingly the restraints of "select society;" and that, on one occasion, he called a clergyman an idiot for misquoting "Gray's Elegy"—a truth that ought not to have been promulgated in presence of the parson, especially at so early a meal as breakfast; and he confesses in his most confidential letters, though indeed he was then writing with some bitterness, that he never had been truly and entirely happy at rich men's feasts. If so, then, never could he have displayed there his genius in full power and lustre.—*Professor Wilson, in "Land of Burns."*

<sup>3</sup> Mr Ainslie, who died in 1838, was the author of "A Father's Gift to his Children," and "Reasons for the Hope that is in us," both treating of the evidences of the Christian religion.

ture, and with general science. At another time he wandered on a jaunt of four or five weeks through the Highlands, in company with the late Mr William Nicol, a man who had been the companion and friend of Dr Gilbert Stuart, and who, in vigour of intellect, and in wild, yet generous, impetuosity of passion, remarkably resembled both Stuart and Burns; who for his skill and facility in Latin composition, was perhaps without a rival in Europe; but whose virtues and genius were clouded by habits of bacchanalian excess; whose latter years were vexatiously embittered by a contest with a creature, who, although accidentally exalted into competition with him, was unworthy even to unloose his shoe-latchet; who, by the most unwearied and extraordinary professional toil, in the midst of a persevering dissipation, by which alone it was, at any time, interrupted, won and accumulated an honourable and sufficient competence for his family; and, alas! who died within these few weeks, of a jaundice, with a complication of other complaints, the effects of long continued intemperance! So much did the zeal of friendship, and the ambition of honest fame, predominate in Nicol's mind, that he was, in his last hours, exceedingly pained by the thought, that since he had survived Burns, there remained none who might rescue his mixed character from misrepresentation, and might embalm his memory in never-dying verse!

In their excursion, Burns and his friend Nicol were naturally led to visit the interesting scenery adjacent to the duke of Atholl's seat at Dunkeld, on the banks of the Tay. While they were at a contiguous inn, the duke, accidentally informed of Mr Burns' arrival so near, invited him, by a polite message, to Dunkeld House. Burns did not fail to attend his obliging inviter; was received with flattering condescension; made himself sufficiently agreeable by his conversation and manners; was detained for a day or two by his grace's kind hospitality; and, ere he departed, in a poetical petition, in name of the river Bruar, which falls into the Tay, within the duke's pleasure grounds at Blair-Athol, suggested some new improvements of taste, which have been since happily made in compliance with his advice. I relate this little incident, rather to do honour to the duke of Athol, than to Burns; for, if I be not exceedingly mistaken, nothing that history can record of George the Third, will, in future times, be accounted more honourable to his memory, than the circumstances and the conversation of his well-known interview with Dr Johnson. The two congenial companions, Burns and Nicol, after visiting many other of those romantic, picturesque, and sublime scenes which abound in the Highlands of Scotland; after fondly lingering here and there for a day or two at a favourite inn, returned at last to Edinburgh; and Burns was now to close accounts with his bookseller, and to retire with his profits in his pocket to the country.

Mr Creech has obligingly informed me, that the whole sum paid to the poet, for the copy-right, and for the subscription copies of his book, amounted to nearly eleven hundred pounds. Out of this sum, indeed, the expenses of printing the edition for the subscribers, were to be deducted. I have likewise reason to believe, that he had consumed a much larger proportion of these gains than prudence could approve, while he superintended the impression, paid his court to his patrons, and waited the full payment of the subscription money.

He was now, at last, to fix upon a plan for future life. He talked loudly of independence of spirit, and simplicity of manners: and boasted his resolution to return to the plough. Yet, still he lingered in Edinburgh, week after week, and month after month, perhaps expecting that one or other of his noble patrons might procure him some permanent and competent annual income, which should set him above all necessity of future exertions to earn for himself the means of subsistence; perhaps unconsciously reluctant to quit the pleasures of that voluptuous town life to which he had for some time too willingly accustomed himself.

An accidental dislocation or fracture of an arm or a leg, which confined him for some weeks to his apartment, left him, during this time, leisure for serious reflection; and he determined to retire from the town, without longer delay. None of all his patrons interposed to divert him from his purpose of returning to the plough, by the offer of any small pension, or any sinecure place of moderate emolument, such as might have given him competence, without withdrawing him from his poetical studies. It seemed to be forgotten, that a ploughman thus exalted into a man of letters, was unfitted for his former toils, without being regularly qualified to enter the career of any new profession; and that it became incumbent upon those patrons who had called him from the plough, not merely to make him their companion in the hour of riot—not simply to fill his purse with gold for a few transient expenses, but to secure him, as far as was possible, from being ever overwhelmed in distress, in consequence of the favour which they had shown him, and of the habits of life into which they had seduced him. Perhaps, indeed, the same delusion of fancy betrayed both Burns and his patrons into the mistaken idea, that, after all which had passed, it was still possible for him to return, in cheerful content, to the homely joys and simple foils of undisturbed rural life.

In this temper of Burns's mind, in this state of his fortune, a farm and the excise were the objects upon which his choice ultimately fixed for future employment and support.

Mr Alexander Wood, the surgeon who attended him during the illness occasioned by his hurt, no sooner understood his patient's wish to seek a resource in the service of the excise, than he, with the usual activity of his benevolent character, effectually recommended the poet to the commissioners of excise; and the name of Burns was enrolled in the list of their expectant officers. Peter Miller, Esq. of Dalswinton, deceived, like Burns himself, and Burns' other friends, into an idea, that the poet and exciseman might yet be respectable and happy as a farmer, generously proposed to establish him in a farm, upon conditions of lease which prudence and industry might easily render exceedingly advantageous. Burns eagerly accepted the offers of this benevolent patron. Two of the poet's friends, from Ayrshire, were invited to survey that farm in Dumfriesshire, which Mr Miller offered. A lease was granted to the poetical farmer at that annual rent which his own friends declared that the due cultivation of his farm might easily enable him to pay; what yet remained of the profits of his publication was laid out in the purchase of farm stock; and Mr Miller might, for some short time, please himself with the persuasion that he had approved himself the liberal patron of genius; had acquired a good tenant upon his estate; and had placed a deserving man in the very situation in which alone he himself desired to be placed, in order to be happy to his wishes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heron's account of the leasing of Ellisland is erroneous: the following we believe to be a correct and authorised statement, being given as such in Dr Robert Anderson's *Edinburgh Magazine*, for June 1799:

"Mr Miller offered Mr Burns the choice of several farms on the estate of Dalswinton, which were at that time out of lease. Mr Burns gave the preference to the farm of Ellisland, most charmingly situated on the banks of the Nith, containing upwards of a hundred acres of most excellent land, then worth a rent of from eighty to a hundred pounds. Mr Miller, after showing Mr Burns what the farm cost him to a farthing, allowed him to fix the rental himself, and the endurance of the lease. A lease was accordingly given to the poet on his own terms; viz. for fifty-seven years, at the very low rent of fifty pounds. And, in addition to this, when Mr Burns signed the tack, Mr Miller presented him with two hundred pounds, to enable him to inclose and improve his farm. It is usual to allow tenants a year's rent for this purpose, but the sum Mr Miller gave him was at least four years' rent. Mr Miller has since sold the farm to John M'Morrine, Esq. at nineteen hundred pounds, leaving to himself seven acres on the Dalswinton side of the river. It may not be improper to add, that Mr Miller's motive in wishing Mr Burns to settle at Ellisland, was to save him, by withdrawing him from

Burns, with his Jane, whom he now married, took up their residence upon his farm. The neighbouring farmers and gentlemen, pleased to obtain for an inmate among them, the poet by whose works they had been delighted, kindly sought his company, and invited him to their houses. He found an inexpressible charm in sitting down beside his wife, at his own fireside; in wandering over his own grounds; in once more putting his hand to the spade and the plough; in forming his inclosures; and managing his cattle. For some moments he felt almost all that felicity which fancy had taught him to expect in his new situation. He had been, for a time, idle; but his muscles were not yet unbraced for rural toil. He had been admitted to flatter ladies of fashion; but he now seemed to find a joy in being the husband of the mistress of his affections; in seeing himself the father of her children, such as might promise to attach him for ever to that modest, humble, and domestic life, in which alone he could hope to be permanently happy. Even his engagements in the service of the excise did not, at the very first, threaten necessarily to debase him, by association with the mean, the gross, and the profligate, to contaminate the poet, or to ruin the farmer.

But, it could not be: it was not possible for Burns now to assume that sedateness of fancy and passions, that sedateness of feeling, those habits of earnest attention to gross and vulgar cares, without which, success in his new situation was not to be expected. A thousand difficulties were to be encountered and overcome, much money was to be expended, much weary toil was to be exercised, before his farm could be brought into a state of cultivation, in which its produce might enrich the occupier.—The prospect before him was, in this respect, such as might well have discouraged the most stubbornly laborious peasant, the most sanguine projector in agriculture; and much more, therefore, was it likely, that this prospect should quickly dishearten Burns, who had never loved labour, and who was, at this time, certainly not at all disposed to enter into agriculture with the enthusiasm of a projector. Beside all this, I have reason to believe, that the poet had made his bargain rashly, and had not duly availed himself of his patron's generosity. His friends, from Ayrshire, were little acquainted with the soil, with the manures, with the markets, with the dairies, with the modes of improvement, in Dumfries-shire. They had set upon his farm rather such a value of rental, as it might have borne in Ayrshire, than that which it could easily afford in the local circumstances in which it was actually placed. He himself had inconsiderately submitted to their judgment, without once doubting whether they might not have erred against his interests, without the slightest wish to make a bargain artfully advantageous to himself. And the necessary consequence was, that he held his farm at too high a rent, contrary to his landlord's intention. The business of the excise too, as he began to be more and more employed in it, distracted his mind from the care of his farm, led him into gross and vulgar society, and exposed him to many unavoidable temptations to drunken excess, such as he had no longer sufficient fortitude to resist. Amidst the anxieties, distractions, and seducements, which thus arose to him, home became insensibly less and less pleasing; even the endearments of his Jane's affection began to lose their hold on his heart; he became every day less and less unwilling to forget in riot those gathering sorrows which he knew not to subdue.

Mr Miller, and some others of his friends, would gladly have exerted an influence to bring him back to the habits of dissipation of a town life; and that, had poor Burns followed the advice given him, he might, perhaps, have still been alive and happy."

There can be no doubt, from the cheapness of the farm and the length of the lease, that, had the poet continued to cultivate it for some years, he would have had the opportunity of becoming very rich.



influence over his mind, which might have preserved him, in this situation of his affairs, equally from despondency, and from dissipation. But Burns' temper spurned all control from his superiors in fortune. He resented, as an arrogant encroachment upon his independence, that tenor of conduct by which Mr Miller wished to turn him from dissolute conviviality, to that steady attention to the business of his farm, without which it was impossible to thrive in it. In the neighbourhood were other gentlemen occasionally addicted, like Burns, to convivial excess; who, while they admired the poet's talents, and were charmed with his licentious wit, forgot the care of his real interests in the pleasure which they found in his company, and in the gratification which the plenty and festivity of their tables appeared evidently to afford him. With these gentlemen, while disappointments and disgusts continued to multiply upon him in his present situation, he continued to diverge every day more and more into dissipation; and his dissipation tended to enhance whatever was disagreeable and perplexing in the state of his affairs.

He sunk, by degrees, into the boon-companion of mere excisemen; and almost every drunken fellow, who was willing to spend his money lavishly in the ale-house, could easily command the company of Burns. The care of his farm was thus neglected; waste and losses wholly consumed his little capital; he resigned his lease into the hands of his landlord; and retired with his family to the town of Dumfries, determining to depend entirely for the means of future support upon his income as an exciseman.

Yet during this unfortunate period of his life, which passed between his departure from Edinburgh to settle in Dumfries-shire, and his leaving the country in order to take up his residence in the town of Dumfries, the energy and activity of his intellectual powers appear to have been not at all impaired. He made a collection of Scottish songs, which were published, with the music, by a Mr Johnston, an engraver, in Edinburgh, in three small volumes, octavo.<sup>1</sup> In making this collection, he, in many instances, accommodated new verses to the old tunes, with admirable felicity and skill. He composed several other poems, such as the tale of Tam o' Shanter, the Whistle, Verses on a Wounded Hare, the pathetic Address to R \* \* \* G \* \* \* of F \* \* \*, and some others which he afterwards permitted Mr Creech to insert in the fourth and fifth editions of his poems.<sup>2</sup>

He assisted in the temporary institution of a small subscription library, for the use of a number of the well-disposed peasants, in his neighbourhood. He readily aided, and by his knowledge of genuine Scottish phraseology and manners, greatly enlightened the antiquarian researches of the late ingenious Captain Grose. He still carried on an epistolary correspondence, sometimes gay, sportive, humorous, but always enlivened by bright flashes of genius, with a number of his old friends, and on a very wide diversity of topics.<sup>3</sup> At times, as it should

<sup>1</sup> Six thin volumes, containing the most complete body of Scottish song and music in existence—entitled, the Scottish Musical Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Among the labours of this period of his life, and of the few remaining years, must be reckoned a hundred excellent songs, partly in Scotch and partly in English, which he contributed to the musical publication of Mr George Thomson, which resembled that of Johnston, but was more elegant and expensive, and contained accompaniments for the tunes by eminent modern musicians.

<sup>3</sup> Burns lent his muse on several occasions to aid the popular candidates in contested elections. In one poem, which was handed about in manuscript, relating to such an affair, he thus alluded to Dr Muirhead, minister of Ur, in Galloway, a fellow rhymist:—

“Armorial bearings from the banks of Ur,  
An old crab apple rotten at the core.”

This hit applied very well, for Dr M. was a little, wind-dried, unhealthy looking mannikin, very proud of his genealogy, and ambitious of being acknowledged on all occasions as the chief of

seen from his writings of this period, he reflected with inexpressible heart-bitterness, on the high hopes from which he had fallen; on the errors of moral conduct into which he had been hurried, by the ardour, and, in some measure, by the very generosity of his nature; on the disgrace and wretchedness into which he saw himself rapidly sinking; on the sorrow with which his misconduct oppressed the heart of his Jane; on the want and destitute misery in which it seemed probable that he must leave her and her infants; nor, amidst these agonizing reflections, did he fail to look, with indignation half invidious, half contemptuous, on those, who, with moral habits not more excellent than his, with powers of intellect far inferior, yet basked in the sunshine of fortune, and were loaded with the wealth and honours of the world, while his follies could not obtain pardon, nor his wants an honourable supply. His wit became, from this time, more gloomily sarcastic; and his conversation and writings began to assume something of a tone of misanthropical malignity, by which they had not been before, in any eminent degree, distinguished. But, with all these failings, he was still that exalted mind which had raised itself above the depression of its original condition; with all the energy of the lion, pawing to set free his hinder limbs from the incumbent earth, he still appeared not less the archangel ruined.

What more remains there for me to relate? In Dumfries his dissipation became still more deeply habitual;<sup>4</sup> he was here more exposed than in the country to be solicited to share the riot of the dissolute and the idle; foolish young men, such as writers' apprentices, young surgeons, merchants' clerks, and his brother excisemen, flocked eagerly about him, and from time to time pressed him to drink with them, that they might enjoy his wicked wit.<sup>5</sup> His friend

*the Muirheads*<sup>1</sup> He was not disposed, however, to sit down with the affront: on the contrary, he replied to it in a virulent diatribe, which we present to the reader for the first time, as a remarkable specimen of clerical and poetical irritability; and curious, moreover, as perhaps the only contemporary satire upon Burns of which the world has ever heard—besides the immortal "trimming letter" from his tailor. Dr Muirhead's *jeu d'esprit* is in the shape of a translation from Martial's ode "*Ad Vacerram*:"

"Vacerras, shabby son of whore,  
Why do thy patrons keep thee poor?  
Thou art a sycophant and traitor,  
A liar, a calumniator,  
Who conscience, (hadst thou that,) wouldst sell,  
Nay, lave the common sewers of hell  
For whisky.—Eke, most precious Imp,  
Thou art a *gauger*, rhymester, pimp,  
How comes it, then, Vacerrus, that  
Thou still art poor as a church rat?"

<sup>4</sup> Mr Lockhart, in his life of Burns, has laboured with much ingenuity and eloquence to show that the account which Heron gives of the latter years of the poet is considerably exaggerated. According to a series of documents quoted by Mr Lockhart, Burns, though latterly a dissipated man, was at no period remarkable for intemperance. The present author entertains no feeling upon this subject except a regard for truth: he has therefore weighed in one scale the common report of the age following Burns's own time, and the accounts then written, all of which were very unfavourable against the later narratives, in which his faults are extenuated or explained away; and the result is a conviction in his own mind that, as the temptations of Burns were great, so were his errors by no means little. He must acknowledge that he has always looked upon this question in a different light from that in which it is viewed by other writers. Regarding Burns altogether as a great moral wonder, he esteems his faults, whatever they were, as only the accident of his character; and he would no more put them out of view in an estimate of the whole man, than would a physiologist overlook any slight malformation in some splendidly elegant subject. He therefore adopts Heron's account—not without a perception that it is somewhat overdrawn, but also assured, since it comes nearest of anything he has ever seen to the reports of the greater number of witnesses, that it must be the nearest of all to the truth.

<sup>5</sup> "To a lady, (I have it from herself,) who remonstrated with him on the danger from drink, and the pursuits of some of his associates, he replied, 'Madam, they would not thank me for my company, if I did not drink with them; I must give them a slice of my constitution.'" *Letter from Bloomfield, the poet, to the Earl of Buchan, Edinburgh Monthly Magazine and Review*, 1810.

Nicol made one or two autumnal excursions to Dumfries; and when they met in Dumfries, friendship, and genius, and wanton wit, and good liquor could never fail to keep Burns and Nicol together, till both the one and the other were as dead drunk as ever was Silenus. The Caledonian Club, too, and the Dumfriesshire and Galloway hunt, had occasional meetings in Dumfries, after Burns came to reside there; and the poet was, of course, invited to share their conviviality, and hesitated not to accept the invitation. The morals of the town were, in consequence of its becoming so much the scene of public amusement, deplorably corrupted; and, though a husband and a father, poor Burns did not escape suffering by the general contamination.<sup>1</sup> In the intervals between his

<sup>1</sup> Mr Robert Chambers, in his "Life and Works of Robert Burns" (1852), observes, that "the charges brought against the poet on the score of intemperance have been proved to be greatly exaggerated. He was only the occasional boon companion, never the dram-drinker or the sot." Mr Chambers, as the result of his own inquiries into the habits of the poet, gives the following description of the daily routine of his Dumfries life:—"So existence flows on with Burns in this pleasant southern town. He has daily duties in stamping leather, gauging malt-vats, noting the manufacture of candles, and granting licenses for the transport of spirits. These duties he performs with fidelity to the King and not too much rigour to the subject. As he goes about them in the forenoon, in his respectable suit of dark clothes, and with his little boy Robert perhaps holding by his hand and conversing with him on his school-exercises, he is beheld by the general public with respect, as a person in some authority, the head of a family, and also as a man of literary note; and people are heard addressing him deferentially as Mr. Burns—a form of his name which is still prevalent in Dumfries. At a leisure-hour before dinner, he will call at some house where there is a piano,—such as Mr Newall, the writer's,—and there have some young Miss to touch over for him one or two of his favourite Scotch airs, such as the 'Sutor's Daughter,' in order that he may accommodate to it some stanzas that have been humming through his brain for the last few days. For another half-hour, he will be seen standing at the head of some cross street with two or three young fellows, bankers' clerks, or 'writer chiefs' commencing business, whom he is regaling with sallies of his bright but not always innocent wit—indulging there, indeed, in a strain of conversation so different from what had passed in the respectable elderly writer's mansion, that, though he were not the same man, it could not have been more different. Later in the day, he takes a solitary walk along the Dock Green by the river side, or to Lincluden, and composes the most part of a new song; or he spends a couple of hours at his folding-down desk, between the fire and window in his parlour, transcribing, in his bold round hand, the remarks which occur to him on Mr Thomson's last letter, together with some of his own recently-composed songs. As a possible variation upon this routine, he has been seen passing along the old bridge of Devorgilla Balliol, about three o'clock, with his sword-cane in his hand, and his black beard unusually well shaven, being on his way to dine with John Syme at Ryedale, where young Mr Oswald of Auchincruive is to be of the party—or maybe in the opposite direction, to partake of the luxuries of John Bushby at Tinwald Downs. But we presume a day when no such attraction invades. The evening is passing quietly at home, and pleasant-natured Jean has made herself neat, and come in at six o'clock to give him his tea—a meal he always takes. At this period, however, there is something remarkably exciting in the proceedings of the French army under Pichegru: or Fox, Adam, or Sheridan, is expected to make an onslaught upon the ministry in the House of Commons. The post comes into Dumfries at eight o'clock at night. There is always a group of gentlemen on the street, eager to hear the news. Burns saunters out to the High Street, and waits amongst the rest. The Convention has decreed the annexation of the Netherlands—or the new treason bill has passed the House of Lords, with only the feeble protest of Bedford, Derby, and Lauderdale. These things merit some discussion. The trades-lads go off to strong ale in the closes; the gentlemen slide in little groups into the King's Arms Hotel or the George. As for Burns, he will just have a single glass and a half-hour's chat beside John Hyslop's fire, and then go quietly home. So he is quickly absorbed in the little narrow close where that virtuous man maintains his state. There, however, one or two friends have already established themselves, all with precisely the same virtuous intent. They heartily greet the bard. Meg or John bustles about to give him his accustomed place, which no one ever disputes. And somehow, the debate on the news of the evening leads on to other chat of an interesting kind. Then Burns becomes brilliant, and his friends give him the applause of their laughter. One jug succeeds another—mirth abounds—and it is not till Mrs Hyslop has declared that they are going beyond all bounds, and she positively will not give them another drop of hot water, that our bard at length bethinks him of returning home, where Bonnie Jean has been lost in peaceful slumber for three hours, after vainly wondering 'what can be keeping Robert out so late the night.' Burns gets to bed a little excited and worn out, but not in a state to provoke much remark from his amiable

different fits of intemperance, he suffered still the keenest anguish of remorse, and horribly afflictive foresight. His Jane still behaved with a degree of maternal and conjugal tenderness and prudence, which made him feel more bitterly the evil of his misconduct, although they could not reclaim him. At last, crippled, emaciated, having the very power of animation wasted by disease, quite broken-hearted by the sense of his errors, and of the hopeless miseries in which he saw himself and his family depressed, with his soul still tremblingly alive to the sense of shame, and to the love of virtue; even to the last feebleness, and amid the last agonies of expiring life, yielding readily to any temptation that offered the semblance of intemperate enjoyment; he died at Dumfries, on the 21st of July, 1796, while he was yet three or four years under the age of forty.

After his death, it quickly appeared that his failings had not effaced from the minds of his more respectable acquaintance, either the regard which had once been won by his social qualities, or the reverence due to his intellectual talents. The circumstances of want in which he left his family, were noticed by the gentlemen of Dumfries, with earnest commiseration. His funeral was celebrated, by the care of his friends, with a decent solemnity, and with a numerous attendance of mourners, sufficiently honourable to his memory.<sup>1</sup> Several copies of verses, having, if no other merit, at least that of a good subject, were inserted in different newspapers, upon the occasion of his death. A contribution, by subscription, was proposed, for the purpose of raising a small fund for the decent support of his widow, and the education of his infant children. This subscription was very warmly promoted, and not without considerable success, by John Syme, Esq. of Dumfries, by Alexander Cunningham, Esq. W.S. Edinburgh; and by Dr James Currie, and Mr Roscoe, of Liverpool. Mr Stephen Kemble, manager of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, with ready liberality, gave a benefit night for this generous purpose.

I shall conclude this paper with a short estimate of what appears to me to have been Burns's real merits, as a poet and as a man: the most remarkable quality he displayed, both in his writings and his conversation, was, certainly, an enlarged, vigorous, keenly discerning, conscious comprehension of mind. Whatever be the subject of his verse, he still seems to grasp it with giant force; to wield and turn it with easy dexterity; to view it on all sides, with an eye which no turn of outline and no hue of colouring can elude; to mark all its relations to the group of surrounding objects, and then to select what he chooses to represent to our imagination, with a skilful and happy propriety, which shows him to have been, at the same time, master of all the rest. It will not be very easy for any other mind, however richly stored with various knowledge; for any other imagination, however elastic and inventive, to find any new and suitable topic that has been omitted by Burns, in celebrating the sub-

partner, in whom nothing can abate the veneration with which she has all along regarded him. And though he beds at a latish hour, most likely he is up next morning between seven and eight, to hear little Robert his day's lesson in *Cesar*, or, if the season invites, to take a half-hour's stroll before breakfast along the favourite Dock Green."

He was buried with military honours by the Dumfries Volunteers, of which corps he had been a member. It had been one of the latest flashes of his humour to request a brother Volunteer not to allow the "awkward squad" to fire over him. A mausoleum was erected over the poet's grave in 1817, at a cost of £1500; and a monument on the banks of the Doon, in 1823, at a cost of £1600. Both are visited by thousands annually.

Mrs Burns died in 1834, in her sixty-eighth year. Three of the poet's sons, viz., Robert, William, and James, yet (1852) survive.

jects of all his greater and more elaborate poems. It is impossible to consider without astonishment, that amazing fertility of invention which is displayed, under the regulation of a sound judgment, and a correct taste, in the 'Twa Dogs; the Address to the Deil; Scotch Drink; the Holy Fair; Hallowe'en; the Cottar's Saturday Night; To a Haggis; To a Louse; To a Mountain Daisy; Tam o' Shanter; on Captain Grose's peregrinations; the humble Petition of Bruar Water; the Bard's Epitaph. Shoemakers, footmen, threshers, milk-maids, peers, staymakers, have all written verses, such as deservedly attracted the notice of the world; but in the poetry of these people, while there was commonly some genuine effusion of the sentiments of agitated nature, some exhibition of such imagery as at once impressed itself upon the heart; there was also much to be ever excused in consideration of their ignorance, their extravagance of fancy, their want or abuse of the advantages of a liberal education. Burns has no pardon to demand for defects of this sort. He might scorn every concession which we are ready to grant to his peculiar circumstances, without being on this account reduced to relinquish any part of his claims to the praise of poetical excellence. He touches his lyre, at all times, with the hand of a master. He demands to be ranked, not with the Woodhouses, the Ducks, the Ramsays, but with the Miltons, the Popes, the Grays. He cannot be denied to have been largely endowed with that strong common sense which is necessarily the very source and principle of all fine writing.

The next remarkable quality in this man's character, seems to have consisted in native strength, ardour, and delicacy of feelings, passions, and affections *Si vis me flere, dolendum primum est ipsi tibi*. All that is valuable in poetry, and, at the same time, peculiar to it, consists in the effusion of particular, not general, sentiments, and in the picturing out of particular imagery. But education, reading, a wide converse with men in society, the most extensive observation of external nature, however useful to improve, cannot, even all combined, confer the power of apprehending either imagery or sentiment with such force and vivacity of conception as may enable one to impress whatever he may choose upon the souls of others, with full, irresistible, electric energy; this is a power which nought can bestow, save native fondness, delicacy, quickness, ardour, force of those parts of our bodily organization, of those energies in the structure of our minds, on which depend all our sensations, emotions, appetites, passions, and affections. Who ever knew a man of high original genius, whose senses were imperfect, his feelings dull and callous, his passions all languid and stagnant, his affections without ardour, and without constancy? others may be artisans, speculators, imitators in the fine arts; none but the man who is thus richly endowed by nature, can be a poet, an artist, an illustrious inventor in philosophy. Let any person first possess this original soundness, vigour, and delicacy of the primary energies of mind; and then let him receive some impression upon his imagination, which shall excite a passion for this or that particular pursuit: he will scarcely fail to distinguish himself by manifestations of exalted and original genius. Without having, first, those simple ideas which belong, respectively, to the different senses, no man can ever form for himself the complex notions, into the composition of which such simple ideas necessarily enter. Never could Burns, without this delicacy, this strength, this vivacity of the powers of bodily sensation, and of mental feeling, which I would here claim as the indispensable native endowments of true genius—without these, never could he have poured forth those sentiments, or portrayed those images which have so powerfully impressed every imagination, and penetrated every heart. Almost all the sentiments and images diffused throughout the poems of Burns, are fresh from the mint of nature. He sings what he had himself beheld with

interested attention—what he had himself felt with keen emotions of pain or pleasure. You actually see what he describes; you more than sympathise with his joys; your bosom is inflamed with all his fire; your heart dies away within you, infected by the contagion of his despondency. He exalts, for a time, the genius of his reader to the elevation of his own; and, for the moment, confers upon him all the powers of a poet. Quotations were endless; but any person of discernment, taste, and feeling, who shall carefully read over Burns' book, will not fail to discover, in its every page, abundance of these sentiments and images to which this observation relates;—it is originality of genius, it is keenness of perception, it is delicacy of passion, it is general vigour and impetuosity of the whole mind, by which such effects are produced. Others have sung, in the same Scottish dialect, and in familiar rhymes, many of the same topics which are celebrated by Burns; but what, with Burns, pleases or fascinates, in the hands of others, only disgusts by its deformity, or excites contempt by its meanness and uninteresting simplicity.

A third quality which the life and the writings of Burns show to have belonged to his character, was a quick and correct discernment of the distinction between right and wrong—between truth and falsehood; and this, accompanied with a passionate preference of whatever was right and true, with an indignant abhorrence of whatever was false and morally wrong. It is true that he did not always steadily distinguish and eschew the evils of drunkenness and licentious love; it is true that these, at times, seem to obtain even the approbation of his muse; but there remains in his works enough to show, that his cooler reason, and all his better feelings, earnestly rejected those gay vices which he could sometimes, unhappily, allow himself to practise, and sometimes recommend to others, by the charms which his imagination lent them. What was it but the clear and ardent discrimination of justice from injustice, which inspired that indignation with which his heart often burned, when he saw those exalted by fortune, who were not exalted by their merits? His *Cottar's Saturday Night*, and all his grave poems, breathe a rich vein of the most amiable, yet manly, and even delicately correct morality. In his pieces of satire, and of lighter humour, it is still upon the accurate and passionate discernment of falsehood, and of moral turpitude, that his ridicule turns. Other poets are often as remarkable for the incorrectness, or even the absurdity of their general truths, as for interesting sublimity, or tenderness of sentiment, or for picturesque splendour of imagery: Burns is not less happy in teaching general truths, than in that display of sentiment and imagery, which more peculiarly belongs to the province of the poet. Burns's morality deserves this high praise, that it is not a system merely of discretion; it is not founded upon any scheme of superstition, but seems to have always its source, and the test by which it is to be tried, in the most diffusive benevolence, and in a regard for the universal good.

The only other leading feature of character that appears to be strikingly displayed in the life and writings of Burns, is a lofty-minded consciousness of his own talents and merits. Hence the fierce contemptuous asperity of his satire; the sullen and gloomy dignity of his complaints, addressed, not so much to alarm the soul of pity, as to reproach injustice, and to make fortunate baseness shrink abashed; that general gravity and elevation of his sentiments, which admits no humbly insinuating sportiveness of wit, which scorns all compromise between the right and the expedient, which decides, with the authoritative voice of a judge, from whom there is no appeal, upon characters, principles, and events, whenever they present themselves to notice. From his works, as from his conversation and manners, pride seems to have excluded the effusions of vanity. In the com-

position, or correction of his poetry, he never suffered the judgment, even of his most respectable friends, to dictate to him. This line, in one of his poems, ("When I look back on prospects drear") was criticised; but he would not condescend either to reply to the criticism, or to alter the expression. Not a few of his smaller pieces are sufficiently trivial, vulgar, and hackneyed in the thought—are such as the pride of genius should have disdained to write, or, at least, to publish; but there is reason to believe that he despised such pieces, even while he wrote and published them; that it was rather in regard to the effects they had already upon hearers and readers, than from any overweening opinion of their intrinsic worth, he suffered them to be printed. His wit is always dignified: he is not a merry-andrew in a motley coat, sporting before you for your diversion; but a hero, or a philosopher, deigning to admit you to witness his relaxations, still exercising the great energies of his soul, and little caring, at the moment, whether you do, or do not, cordially sympathise with his feelings.

His poems may be all distributed into the two classes of pastorals, and pieces upon common life and manners. In the former class, I include all those in which rural imagery, and the manners and contiments of rustics are chiefly described: in the latter, I would comprehend his epigrams, epistles, and, in short, all those pieces in which the imagery and sentiments are drawn from the condition and appearances of common life, without any particular reference to the country. It is in the first class that the most excellent of his poems are certainly to be found. Those few pieces which he seems to have attempted in the Della Crusca style, appear to me to be the least commendable of all his writings; he usually employs those forms of versification which have been used chiefly by the former writers or poetry in the Scottish dialect, and by some of the elder English poets. His phraseology is evidently drawn from those books of English poetry which were in his hands, from the writings of former Scottish poets, and from those unwritten stores of the Scottish dialect, which became known to him, in the conversation of his fellow peasants. Some other late writers in the Scottish dialect seem to think, that not to write English is certainly to write Scottish; Burns, avoiding this error, hardly ever transgressed the propriety of English grammar, except in compliance with the long accustomed variations of the genuine Scottish dialect.

From the preceding detail of the particulars of this poet's life, the reader will naturally and justly infer him to have been an honest, proud, warm-hearted man; of high passions, and sound understanding, and a vigorous and excursive imagination. He was never known to descend to any act of deliberate meanness. In Dumfries he retained many respectable friends, even to the last. It may be doubted whether he has not, by his writings, exercised a greater power over the minds of men, and, by consequence, on their conduct, upon their happiness and misery, and upon the general system of life, than has been exercised by any half dozen of the most eminent statesmen of the present age. The power of the statesman is but shadowy, as far as it acts upon externals alone: the power of the writer of genius subdues the heart and the understanding, and having thus made the very spring of action its own, through them moulds almost all life and nature at its pleasure. Burns has not failed to command one remarkable sort of homage, such as is never paid but to great original genius—a crowd of poetasters started up to imitate him, by writing verses as he had done, in the Scottish dialect; but, *O imitatores! servum pecus!* To persons to whom the Scottish dialect, and the customs and manners of rural life in Scotland have no charms, I shall possibly appear to have said too much about Burns: by those who

passionately admire him, I shall, perhaps, be blamed, as having said too little.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following letter and poem by Burns were first published in the original edition of this work:—

#### LETTER TO MR BURNES, AT MONTROSE.

MY DEAR SIR,

I this moment receive yours—receive it with the honest hospitable warmth of a friend's welcome. Whatever comes from you wakens always up the bitter blood about my heart, which your kind little recollections of my parental friends carries as far as it will go. 'Tis there, Sir, that man is blest! 'tis there, my friend, man feels a consciousness of something within him above the trodden clod! The grateful reverence to the hoary, earthly author of his being—the burning glow, when he clasps the woman of his soul to his bosom—the tender yearnings of heart for the little angels to whom he has given existence,—these nature has poured in milky streams about the human heart; and the man who never rouses them to action, by the inspiring influences of their proper objects, loses by far the most pleasurable part of his existence.

My departure is uncertain, but I do not think it will be till after harvest. I will be on very short allowance of time, indeed, if I do not comply with your friendly invitation. When it will be I don't know, but if I can make my wish good, I will endeavour to drop you a line sometime before. My best compliments to Mrs ———; I should [be] equally mortified should I drop in when she is abroad; but of that, I suppose, there is little chance.

What I have wrote, heaven knows; I have not time to review it: so accept of it in the beaten way of friendship. With the ordinary phrase, perhaps, rather more than ordinary sincerity, I am, dear Sir, ever yours, &c.

MOSGIEL, Tuesday noon,  
3<sup>rd</sup> Dec. 26, 1786.

#### ON THE DEATH OF A FAVOURITE CHILD

O SWEET be thy sleep in the land of the grave,  
My dear little angel, for ever—  
For ever—oh no! let not man be a slave,  
His hopes from existence to sever.

Though cold be the clay where thou pillow'st thy head,  
In the dark silent mansions of sorrow,  
The spring shall return to thy low narrow bed,  
Like the beam of the day-star to-morrow.

The flower-stem shall bloom like thy sweet seraph form,  
Ere the Spoiler had nipt thee in blossom,  
When thou shrunk from the scowl of the loud winter storm,  
And nestled thee close to that bosom.

O still I behold thee, all lovely in death,  
Reclined on the lap of thy mother,  
When the tear trickled bright, when the short stifled breath,  
Told how dear ye were aye to each other.

My child, thou art gone to the home of thy rest,  
Where suffering no longer can harm thee,  
Where the songs of the good, where the hymns of the blest,  
Through an endless existence shall charm thee.

While he, thy fond parent, must, sighing, sojourn  
Through the dire desert regions of sorrow,  
O'er the hope and misfortune of being to mourn,  
And sigh for this life's latest morrow.



## C

CALDERWOOD, DAVID, an eminent divine and ecclesiastical historian. The year of his birth, the place of his education, and the character of the family from which he was descended, are all alike unknown. The earliest ascertained fact of his life is his settlement, in 1604, as minister of Crailing, in Roxburghshire. Being a zealous supporter of the principles of presbytery, he set himself with all his might to oppose the designs of the court, which aimed at the introduction of a moderate episcopacy. In 1608, when the Bishop of Glasgow paid an official visit to the synod of Merse and Teviotdale, Mr Calderwood gave in a paper declining his jurisdiction. For this act of contumacy, he was confined for several years to his parish, so as to prevent his taking any share in the public business of the church. In the summer of 1617, king James paid a visit to Scotland, for the purpose of urging forward his episcopal innovations. On this occasion, while the parliament was considering how to intrust powers of ecclesiastical supremacy to the king, the clergy were convened to deliberate in a collusive manner, so that every thing might appear to be done with the consent and approbation of the church. This assemblage was attended by the bishops, who affected to consider it an imitation of the *convocations* of the English church. Calderwood, being now permitted to move about, though still forbidden to attend synods or presbyteries, appeared at this meeting, which he did not scruple to proclaim as in no respect a convocation, but simply a free assembly of the clergy. Finding himself opposed by some friends of the bishops, Mr Calderwood took leave of them in a short but pithy speech, allusive to the sly attempts of the king to gain the clergy, by heightening their stipends:—"It was absurd," he said, "to see men sitting in silks and satins, crying poverty in the kirk, while purity was departing." He assisted, however, at another meeting of the clergy, where it was resolved to deliver a protest to parliament, against a particular *article*, or *bill*, by which the power of framing new laws for the church was to be intrusted to an ecclesiastical council appointed by the king. This protest was signed by Mr Archibald Simpson, as representing all the rest, who, for his justification, furnished him with a roll containing their own signatures. One copy of the document was intrusted to a clergyman of the name of Hewat, who, having a seat in parliament, undertook to present it. Another remained with Mr Simpson, in case of accident. Mr Hewat's copy having been torn in a dispute with Archbishop Spottiswoode, Mr Simpson presented his, and was soon after called before the tyrannical court of High Commission, as a stirrer up of sedition. Being pressed to give up the roll containing the names of his abettors, he acknowledged it was now in the hands of Mr David Calderwood, who was then cited to exhibit the said roll, and, at the same time, to answer for his seditious and mutinous behaviour. The Commission court sat at St Andrews, and the king having come there himself, had the curiosity to examine Mr Calderwood in person. Some of the persons present came up to the peccant divine, and, in a friendly manner, counselled him to "come in the king's will," that his majesty might pardon him. But Mr Calderwood entertained too strong a sense of the propriety and importance of what he had been doing, to yield up the point in this manner. "That which was done," he said, "was done with deliberation." In the conversation which ensued betwixt the king and him, the reader will be surprised to find many of the most interesting points of modern liberty, asserted with a firmness and dignity worthy of an ancient Roman.

*King.* What moved you to protest?

*Calderwood.* An article concluded among the laws of the articles.

*King.* But what fault was there in it?

*Calderwood.* It cutteth off our General Assemblies.

*King.* (After inquiring how long Mr Calderwood had been a minister, Hear me, Mr David, I have been an older keeper of General Assemblies than you. A General Assembly serveth to preserve doctrine in purity, from error, and heresy, the kirk from schism, to make confessions of faith, to put up petitions to the king in parliament. But as for matters of order, rites, and things indifferent in kirk policy, they may be concluded by the king, with advice of bishops, and a choice number of ministers.

*Calderwood.* Sir, a General Assembly should serve, and our General Assemblies have served these fifty-six years, not only for preserving doctrine from error and heresy, but also to make canons and constitutions of all rites and orders belonging to the kirk. As for the second point, as by a competent number of ministers may be meant a General Assembly, so also may be meant a fewer number of ministers than may make up a General Assembly.

The king then challenged him for some words in the protestation.

*Calderwood.* Whatsoever was the phrase of speech, we meant nothing but to protest that we would give passive obedience to his majesty, but could not give active obedience to any unlawful thing which should flow from that article.

*King.* Active and passive obedience!

*Calderwood.* That is, we will rather suffer than practise.

*King.* I will tell thee, man, what is obedience. The centurion, when he said to his servants, to this man, go, and he goeth, to that man, come, and he cometh: that is obedience.

*Calderwood.* To suffer, Sir, is also obedience, howbeit, not of that same kind. And that obedience, also, was not absolute, but limited, with exception of a countermmand from a superior power.

*Secretary.* Mr David, let alone [*cease*]; confess your error.

*Calderwood.* My lord, I cannot see that I have committed any fault.

*King.* Well, Mr Calderwood, I will let you see that I am gracious and favourable. That meeting shall be condemned before ye be condemned; all that are in the file shall be filed before ye be filed, provided ye will conform.

*Calderwood.* Sir, I have answered my libel. I ought to be urged no further.

*King.* It is true, man, ye have answered your libel; but consider I am here; I may demand of you when and what I will.

*Calderwood.* Surely, Sir, I get great wrong, if I be compelled to answer here in judgment to any more than my libel.

*King.* Answer, Sir! ye are a refractor: the Bishop of Glasgow, your ordinary, and the Bishop of Caithness, the moderator of your presbytery, testify ye have kept no order; ye have repaired neither to presbyteries nor synods, and in no wise conform.

*Calderwood.* Sir, I have been confined these eight or nine years; so my conformity or non-conformity, in that point, could not be well known.

*King.* Good faith, thou art a very knave. See these self-same puritans; they are ever playing with equivocations.

Finally, the King asked, "If ye were relaxed, will ye obey or not?"

*Calderwood.* Sir, I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer questions beside the libel; yet, seeing I must answer, I say, Sir, I shall either obey you, or give a reason wherefore I disobey; and, if I disobey, your Majesty knows I am to lie under the danger as I do now.

*King.* That is, to obey either actively or passively.

*Calderwood.* I can go no further.

He was then removed. Being afterwards called up, and threatened with deprivation, he declined the authority of the bishops to that effect; for which contumacy, he was first imprisoned in St Andrews, and then banished from the kingdom. When we read such conversations as the above, we can scarcely wonder at the civil war which commenced twenty years afterwards, or that the efforts of the Stuarts to continue the ancient arbitrary government of England were finally ineffectual.

Mr Calderwood continued to reside in Holland from the year 1619, till after the death of king James, in 1625. Before leaving his country, he published a book on the Perth assembly, for which he would certainly have been visited with some severe punishment, if he had not been quick to convey himself beyond seas. In 1623, he published, in Holland, his celebrated treatise, entitled, "*Altare Damascenum*," the object of which was to expose the insidious means by which the polity of the English church had been intruded upon that of Scotland. King James is said to have been severely stung in conscience by this work. He was found very pensive one day by an English prelate, and being asked why he was so, answered, that he had just read the Altar at Damascus. The bishop desired his majesty not to trouble himself about that book, for he and his brethren would answer it. "Answer that, man!" cried the king sharply; "how can ye? there is nothing in it but scripture, reason, and the fathers." An attempt was made, however, to do something of this kind. A degraded Scottish gentleman, named Scott, being anxious to ingratiate himself at court, published a recantation as from the pen of Mr Calderwood, who, he believed, and alleged, was just dead. There was only one unfortunate circumstance against Mr Scott. Mr Calderwood soon let it be known that he was still alive; and of the same way of thinking as ever. The wretched impostor is said to have then gone over to Holland and sought for Mr Calderwood, in order to render his work true by assassinating him. But this red ink postscript was never added, for the divine had just returned to his native country.

Mr Calderwood lived in a private manner at Edinburgh for many years, chiefly engaged, it is supposed, in the unobtrusive task of compiling a history of the church of Scotland, from the death of James V. to that of James VI. His materials for this work lay in Knox's History, Mr James Melville's Observations, Mr John Davidson's Diary, the Acts of Parliament and Assembly, and other state documents. The work, in its original form, has hitherto been deemed too large for publication; but manuscript copies are preserved in the archives of the church, Glasgow University, and in the Advocates' Library. On the breaking out of the troubles in 1638, Mr Calderwood appeared on the public scene, as a warm promoter of all the popular measures. At the Glasgow assembly in that year, and on many future occasions, his acquaintance with the records of the church proved of much service. He now also resumed his duty as a parish minister, being settled at Pencaitland, in East Lothian. In 1643, he was appointed one of the committee for drawing up the directory for public worship; and, in 1646, an abstract of his church history was published under the care of the General Assembly. At length, in 1651, while Cromwell's army occupied the Lothians, Mr Calderwood retired to Jedburgh, where, in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of his earliest ministrations, he sickened and died at a good old age. Both his "*Altare Damascenum*," and his "*True History of the Church of Scotland*," have been printed oftener than once; but an edition of his larger history is still a desideratum in Scottish literature.

CALLANDER, JOHN, of Craigforth, an eminent antiquary, was born in the early part of the eighteenth century. He was the descendant of John Callan-

der, his majesty's master-smith in Scotland, who seems to have been an industrious money-making person, and who, tradition says, acquired part of his fortune from a mistake on the part of government in paying in pounds *sterling* an account which had been stated in *Scots* money. The estate of Craigforth, which originally belonged to lord Elphinstone, was, in 1684, purchased by Mr Alexander Higgins, an advocate, who became embarrassed by the purchase, and conveyed his right to ——— Callander, from whom he had obtained large advances of money. From that period the estate has remained in the possession of the family, notwithstanding the strenuous, but unsuccessful exertions of Higgins to regain it; and of this family the subject of the present memoir was the representative.<sup>1</sup> Of his private history, very little has been collected; nor would it probably have much interest to our readers.<sup>2</sup> The next work published by him was "*Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Terra Australis, or Southern Hemisphere, during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries*," Edinburgh, 1766; 3 vols. 8vo., a work translated from the French of De Brosseau. It was not till thirteen years afterwards that he gave to the world his "*Essay towards a literal English Version of the New Testament in the Epistle to the Ephesians*," printed in quarto at Glasgow, in 1779. This very singular production proceeds upon the principle of adhering rigidly to the order of the Greek words, and abandoning entirely the English idiom. As a specimen of the translation, the 31st verse of chapter v. is here transcribed. "Because of this shall leave a man, the father of him, and the mother, and he shall be joined to the wife of him, and they shall be even the two into one flesh." The notes to the work are in Greek, "a proof, certainly," as has been judiciously remarked, "of Mr Callander's learning, but not of his wisdom."—(*Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 74.) After it followed the work by which Mr Callander is best known: "Two ancient Scottish poems; the Gaberlunzie Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with notes and observations." Edin. 1782, 8vo. It would seem that he had for some time meditated a dictionary of the Scottish language, of which he intended this as a specimen, but which he never prepared for publication. His principle, as an etymologist, which consists "in deriving the words of every language from the radical sounds of the first or original tongue, as it was spoken by Noah and the builders of Babel," is generally considered fanciful, and several instances have been given by Chalmers and others of the absurdity of his derivations. It is to be regretted, that, in preparing these poems for the press, he should have adopted so incorrect a text. In editing the latter of the two, he neither consulted the Bannatyne MS., nor adhered strictly to the version of bishop Gibson or Allan Ramsay, but gave "such readings as appeared to him most consonant to the phraseology of the sixteenth century." Throughout the work he was indebted to his friend Mr George Paton, of Edinburgh; but it would appear, from one of the letters lately published, that the latter is not to be considered responsible either for the theories which the work contains, or for the accuracy with which it was executed.

In April, 1781, Mr Callander was, without any solicitation on his part, elected a fellow of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, which had been formed in the preceding November, by the late earl of Buchan; and in the first list of office-

<sup>1</sup> Letters from Bishop Percy, &c. to George Paton. Preface, p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Though a member of the Scottish bar, the early part of his life seems to have been devoted to classical pursuits; in which it is acknowledged, he made great proficiency. A considerable portion of the results of these studies were presented by him to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, in August, 1781. His MSS., which are entitled, "*Spicilegia Antiquitatis Græcæ, sive ex Veteribus Poetis Deperdita Fragmenta*," are in five volumes, folio. The same researches were afterwards directed to the illustration of Milton's "*Paradise Lost*," of which a specimen, containing his annotations on the first book, was printed at Glasgow, by Messrs Poulis, in 1750, (4to, pp. 167.) Of these notes an account will afterwards be given.

beavers his name appears as Secretary for foreign correspondence. Along with several other donations, he presented them, in August of the same year, with the "Fragmenta," already mentioned, and with the MS. notes on *Paradise Lost*, in nine folio volumes. For more than forty years these annotations remained unnoticed in the society's possession, but at length a paper written, it is supposed, by the respectable biographer of the Admirable Crichton and Sir Thomas Craig, appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, in which Callander is charged with having, without acknowledgment, been indebted for a large proportion of his materials to the labours of Patrick Hume, a Scotsman, who published a huge folio of 321 pages, on the same subject, at London, in 1695. At the suggestion of Mr David Laing, a committee was appointed, in 1826, to examine the MSS., and present the result to the society. From the report<sup>3</sup> drawn up by Mr Laing, it appears that, although there are some passages in which the analogy between Callander's remarks and those of Hume are so close that no doubt can be entertained of the one having availed himself of the notes of the other, yet that the proportion to the whole mass is so small, that it cannot be affirmed with truth the general plan or the largest portion of the materials of the work are derived from that source. On the other hand, it is candidly admitted, that no acknowledgment of his obligations to his fellow-countryman are made by Mr Callander; but unfortunately a preface, in which such obligations are generally noticed, has never been written for, or, at all events, is not attached to, the work. According to the testimony of Bishop Newton, the work by Hume contains "gold;" but it is concealed among "infinite heaps of rubbish:" to separate them was the design of the learned bishop, and our author seems to have acted precisely upon the same principle. Nor does he confine himself merely to the commentaries of Hume; he avails himself as often, and to as great an extent, of the notes of Newton, and of the other contemporary critics.

Besides the works already mentioned, Mr Callander seems to have projected several others. A specimen of a "*Bibliotheca Septentrionalis*" was printed in folio, in 1778,—"*Proposals for a History of the Ancient Music of Scotland, from the age of the venerable Ossian, to the beginning of the sixteenth century,*" in quarto, 1781,—and a specimen of a *Scoto-gothic glossary*, is mentioned in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, in 1781. He also wrote "*Vindiciæ Miltonianæ, or a refutation of the charges brought against Milton by [the infamous] William Lauder.*" The publication of this work was, however, rendered unnecessary, from the appearance of the well-known vindication by Mr Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury. This was, perhaps, fortunate for its author; not aware of Lauder's character, he had taken it for granted that all his quotations from Milton's works were correct, but he soon found that he had defended the poet where "he stood in no need of any apology to clear his fame." It is probably hardly worth mentioning, that he also projected an edition of Sir David Lindsay's "*Satyre*," to be accompanied by a life of Lindsay from the pen of George Paton, which he does not seem to have accomplished.

"Mr Callander, says the editor of Paton's Letters,<sup>4</sup> was, for many years, particularly distinguished for his companionable qualities. He had a taste for music, and was an excellent performer on the violin. Latterly he became very retired in his habits, saw little company, and his mind was deeply affected by a religious melancholy, which entirely unfitted him for society. He died, at a good old age, upon the 14th September, 1789. By his wife, who was of the family of

<sup>3</sup> See *Trans. of the Soc. of Scot. Antiq.* vol. 3, part I. pp. 84—89

<sup>4</sup> "Letters from Thomas Percy, DD. afterwards Bishop of Dromore, John Callander, of Craigforth, Esq., David Herd, and others. to George Paton." Edinburgh, 1830, 12mo, p. x.

Livingston of Westquarter, he had seventeen children. His great-grandson is at present in possession of the estate."

CAMERON, RICHARD, an eminent martyr of the Scottish church, and whose name is still retained in the popular designation of one of its sects, was the son of a small shopkeeper at Falkland in Fife. His first appearance in life was in the capacity of schoolmaster and precentor of that parish under the episcopal clergyman. But, being converted by the field preachers, he afterwards became an enthusiastic votary of the pure presbyterian system, and, resigning those offices, went to reside as a preceptor in the family of Sir Walter Scott of Harden. From this place he was soon compelled to remove, on account of his refusal to attend the ministrations of the parish clergyman. He then fell into the company of the celebrated Mr John Welch, and was by him persuaded to accept a licence as a preacher. This honour was conferred upon him by Mr Welch and another persecuted clergyman in the house of Haughhead in Roxburghshire; so simple was the ceremony by which these unfortunate ministers recruited their ranks. Cameron soon excited the hostility of the indulged presbyterian clergy, by the freedom with which he asserted the spiritual independence of the Scottish church. He was, in 1677, reprov'd for this offence at a meeting of the presbyterian clergy at Edinburgh. The indulged ministers having threatened to deprive him of his licence, he was induced to promise that he would be more sparing in his invectives against them; an engagement which afterwards burdened his conscience so much as to throw him into a deep melancholy. He sought diversion to his grief in Holland, where his fervid eloquence and decided character made a strong impression upon the banished ministers. These men appear to have become convinced that his extraordinary zeal could end only in his own destruction, as Mr Ward, in assisting at his ordination, retained his hand for some time upon the young preacher's head, and exclaimed, "Behold, all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and it shall be set up before the sun and moon, in the view of the world." Cameron returned to his native country in 1680, and, although field-preaching had now been nearly suppressed by the severity of the government, he immediately re-commenced that practice. It is necessary to be observed, that Cameron did not identify himself at any time with the presbyterian clergy in general; while his proceedings, so little squared by prudence or expediency, were regarded by his brethren with only a gentler kind of disapprobation than that which they excited in the government. The persecutors had now, by dint of mere brute force, reduced almost all men to a tacit or passive conformity; and there only held out a small remnant, as it was termed, who could not be induced to remain quiet, and at whose head Mr Richard Cameron was placed, on account of his enthusiastic and energetic character. On the 20th of June, 1680, in company with about twenty other persons, well-armed, he entered the little remote burgh of Sanquhar, and in a ceremonious manner proclaimed at the cross, that he and those who adhered to him renounced their allegiance to the king, on account of his having abused his government, and also declared a war against him and all who adhered to him, at the same time avowing their resolution to resist the succession of his brother the Duke of York. The bulk of the presbyterians beheld this transaction with dismay, for they knew that the government would charge it upon the party in general. The privy council immediately put a reward of five thousand merks upon Cameron's head, and three thousand upon the heads of all the rest; and parties were sent out to waylay them. The little band kept together in arms for a month, in the mountainous country, between Nithsdale and Ayrshire. But at length, on

the 20th of July, when they were lying in a secure place on Airnoss, Bruce of Earlsall approached them with a party of horse and foot much superior in numbers. Cameron, who was believed by his followers to have a gift of prophecy, is said to have that morning washed his hands with particular care, in expectation that they were immediately to become a public spectacle. His party, at sight of the enemy, gathered closely around him, and he uttered a short prayer, in which he thrice repeated the expression—"Lord, spare the green and take the ripe"—no doubt, including himself in the latter description, as conceiving himself to be among the best prepared for death. He then said to his brother, 'Come, let us fight it out to the last; for this is the day which I have longed for, and the day that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies; this is the day that we will get the crown.' To all of them, in the event of falling, he gave assurance that he already saw the gates of heaven open to receive them. A brief skirmish took place, in which the insurgents were allowed even by their enemies to have behaved with great bravery, but nothing could avail against superior numbers. Mr Cameron being among the slain, his head and hands were cut off, and carried to Edinburgh, along with the prisoners, among whom was the celebrated Mr Hackstoun of Rathillet. It happened that the father of Cameron was at this time in prison for non-conformity. The head was shown to the old man, with the question, "Did he know to whom it had belonged." He seized the bloody relics with the eagerness of parental affection, and, kissing them fervently, exclaimed, "I know, I know them; they are my son's, my own dear son's: it is the Lord; good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me or mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days." The head and hands were then fixed upon the Netherbow Port, the fingers pointing upwards, in mockery of the attitude of prayer. The headless trunk was buried with the rest of the slain in Airnoss, where a plain monument was in better times erected over them. To this spot, while the persecution was still raging, Peden, the friend of Cameron, used to resort, not so much, apparently, to lament his fate, as to wish that he had shared it. "Oh to be wi' Ritchie!" was the frequent and touching ejaculation of Peden over the grave of his friend. The name of Cameron was applied to the small but zealous sect of presbyterians which he had led in life, and has since been erroneously extended to the persecuted presbyterians in general. The twenty-sixth regiment, which was raised at the Revolution out of the west-country people who flocked to Edinburgh, was styled, on that account, the Cameronian Regiment, which appellation, notwithstanding the obvious error, it still retains.

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER, musician and poet, was born in 1764, at Tombea, on the banks of Loch Lubnaig, above Callendar, and received his education at the grammar-school of that town. While yet a youth, he removed to Edinburgh, and studied music under the celebrated Tenucci and others. A decided taste for the art, and especially for the simple melodies of his native country, induced him to become a teacher of the harpsichord and of vocal music in Edinburgh; and as he was a zealous adherent of the scattered remnant who still espoused the cause of the unhappy Stuarts, he became at the same time organist to a non-juring chapel in the neighbourhood of Nicolson Street, where the Rev. Mr Harper then officiated. While in this situation, and still possessed of all the keen feelings of youth, he became acquainted with Robert Burns, who is said to have highly appreciated his ardent character, as he must have strongly sympathised in his national prepossessions. It may also be mentioned that Mr Campbell was music-master to Sir Walter Scott, with whom, however, he never made any progress, owing, as he used to say, to the total destitution of that

great man in the requisite of an *ear*. Mr Campbell was twice married, and on the second occasion with such prospects of advancement, that he was induced to abandon his profession, in which he was rising to eminence, and turn his attention to the study of medicine, which, however, he never practised on an extended scale, though he was ready and eager to employ his skill for benevolent purposes. The connections of Mr Campbell's second wife were of so elevated a rank in life, that he entertained hopes of obtaining, through their means, some employment under government, in his medical capacity; but in this, as in many other things, he was destined to experience a bitter disappointment. In 1798, he published his first literary work, namely, "An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland," quarto; to which were added, "the Songs of the Lowlands," with illustrative engravings by David Allan. The History of Poetry, though written in a loose style, and deformed here and there by opinions of a somewhat fantastic nature, is a work of considerable research. It was dedicated to the artist Fuseli. It is worth mentioning that a Dialogue on Scottish Music, prefixed to the History, was the first means of giving foreign musicians a correct understanding of the Scottish scale, which, it is well known, differs from that prevalent on the continent; and it is consistent with our knowledge, that the author was highly complimented on this subject by the greatest Italian and German composers. About this time, Mr Campbell began to extend his views from literature to the arts; and he attained to a very respectable proficiency as a draughtsman. In 1802, appeared his best work, "A Tour from Edinburgh through various parts of North Britain, &c." 2 vols. quarto, embellished with a series of beautiful aquatint drawings by his own hand. This book is very entertaining, and, in some parts, (for instance, the account of Scottish society in the early part of the eighteenth century,) it betrays powers much above the grade of the author's literary reputation. In 1804, Mr Campbell was induced to appear as an original poet, in a work entitled "the Grampians Desolate." If in this attempt he was not very successful in the principal object, it must at least be allowed, that his various knowledge, particularly in matters of Scottish antiquity, and the warm zeal with which he advocates the cause of the exiled Highlanders, give the work an interest for the patriot and the antiquary. Mr Campbell finally published, in 1816, two parts of a collection of native Highland music, under the title *Albyn's Anthology*, for which Sir Walter Scott, Sir Alexander Boswell, and other eminent literary men, contributed modern verses. Unhappily, Mr Campbell's acquirements, though such as would have eminently distinguished an independent gentleman in private life, did not reach that point of perfection which the public demands of those who expect to derive bread from their practice of the fine arts. Even in music, it was the opinion of eminent judges, that *Albyn's Anthology* would have been more favourably received, if the beautiful original airs had been left unencumbered with the basses and symphonies which the editor himself thought essential.

Mr Campbell, in early life, had been possessed of a handsome person, and a lively and social disposition. Gifted, as he then was, with so many of those accomplishments which are calculated to give a charm to existence, it might have been expected that his life would have been one of happiness and prosperity. It was in every respect the reverse. Some unhappy misunderstanding with the relations of his second wife led to a separation between them, and two individuals, who, united, could have promoted each other's happiness, lived for ever after apart and miserable. A numerous train of disappointments, not exclusively literary, tended further to embitter the declining years of this unfortunate man of genius. Yet his own distresses, and they were numerous,



both from disease and difficulty of circumstances, could never either break his spirits, or chill his interest in the happiness of his friends. If he had the foibles of a keen temper, he was free from the faults of a sullen and cold disposition. After experiencing as many of the vicissitudes of life as fall to the lot of most men, he died of apoplexy on the 15th of May, 1824, in the sixty-first year of his age.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, Marquis of Argyle, an eminent political character of the seventeenth century, born in 1598, was the son of Archibald, seventh earl of Argyle. He was carefully educated in a manner suitable to the important place in society, which his birth destined him to occupy. Having been well grounded in the various branches of classical knowledge, he added to these, an attentive perusal of the holy scriptures, in consequence of which his mind became at an early period deeply imbued with a sense of religion, which, amidst all the vicissitudes of an active and eventful life, became stronger and stronger till his dying day. There had long been an hereditary feud subsisting between his family and the clan of the Macdonalds, against whom he accompanied his father on an expedition in the year 1616, being then only in the eighteenth year of his age; and two years afterwards, his father having left the kingdom, the care of the Highlands, and especially of the protestant interest there, devolved almost entirely upon him. In 1626, he was sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and in 1628, surrendered into the hands of the king, so far as lay in his power, the office of justice general in Scotland, which had been hereditary in his family, but reserving to himself and his heirs the office of justiciary of Argyle, and the Western Isles, which was confirmed to him by act of parliament. In 1633, the earl of Argyle having declared himself a Roman Catholic, was commanded to make over his estate to his son by the king, reserving to himself only as much as might support him in a manner suitable to his quality during the remainder of his life. Lord Lorne, thus prematurely possessed of political and territorial influence, was, in 1634, appointed one of the extraordinary lords of Session; and in the month of April, 1638, after the national covenant had been framed and sworn by nearly all the ministers and people of Scotland, he was summoned up to London, along with Traquair the treasurer, and Roxburgh, lord privy seal, to give advice with regard to what line of conduct his majesty should adopt under the existing circumstances. They were all equally aware that the covenant was hateful to the king; but Argyle alone spoke freely and honestly, recommending the entire abolition of those innovations which his majesty had recklessly made on the forms of the Scottish church, and which had been solely instrumental in throwing Scotland into its present hostile attitude. Traquair advised a temporizing policy till his majesty's affairs should be in a better condition; but the bishops of Galloway, Ross, and Brechin insisted upon the necessity of strong measures, and suggested a plan for raising an army in the north, that should be amply sufficient for asserting the dignity of the crown, and repressing the insolence of the covenanters. This alone was the advice that was agreeable to his majesty, and he followed it out with a blindness alike fatal to himself and the kingdom. The earl of Argyle, being at this time at court, a bigot to the Romish faith, and friendly to the designs of the king, advised his majesty to detain the lord Lorne a prisoner at London, assuring him that, if he was permitted to return to Scotland, he would certainly do him a mischief. But the king, supposing this advice to be the fruit of the old man's irritation at the loss of his estate, and probably afraid, as seeing no feasible pretext for taking such a violent step, allowed him to depart in peace. He returned to Edinburgh on the twentieth of May, and was one of the last of the Scottish nobility that signed the national covenant, which he did not do till

he was commanded to do it by the king. His father dying this same year, he succeeded to all his honours, and the remainder of his property. During the time he was in London, Argyle was certainly informed of the plan that had been already concerted for an invasion in Scotland by the Irish, under the marquis of Antrim, who for the part he performed in that tragical drama, was to be rewarded with the whole district of Kintyre, which formed a principal part of the family patrimony of Argyle. This partitioning of his property without having been either asked or given, and for a purpose so nefarious, must have had no small influence in alienating from the court a man who had imbibed high principles of honour, had a strong feeling of family dignity, and was an ardent lover of his country. He did not, however, take any decisive step till the assembly of the church, that met at Glasgow, November the twenty first, 1638, under the auspices of the marquis of Hamilton, as lord high commissioner. When the marquis, by protesting against every movement that was made by the court, and finally by attempting to dissolve it the moment it came to enter upon the business for which it had been so earnestly solicited, discovered that he was only playing the game of the king; Argyle, as well as several other of the young nobility, could no longer refrain from taking an active part in the work of Reformation. On the withdrawal of the commissioner, all the privy council followed him, except Argyle, whose presence gave no small encouragement to the assembly to continue its deliberations, besides that it impressed the spectators with an idea that the government could not be greatly averse to the continuation of the assembly, since one of its most able and influential members encouraged it with his presence. At the close of the assembly, Mr Henderson the moderator, sensible of the advantages they had derived from his presence, complimented him in a handsome speech, in which he regretted that his lordship had not joined with them sooner, but hoped that God had reserved him for the best times, and that he would yet highly honour him in making him instrumental in promoting the best interests of his church and people. To this his lordship made a suitable reply, declaring that it was not from the want of affection to the cause of God and his country that he had not sooner come forward to their assistance, but from a fond hope that, by remaining with the court, he might have been able to bring about a redress of their grievances, to the comfort and satisfaction of both parties. Finding, however, that it was impossible to follow this course any longer, without being unfaithful to his God and his country, he had at last adopted the line of conduct they witnessed, and which he was happy to find had obtained their approbation. This assembly, so remarkable for the bold character of its acts, all of which were liable to the charge of treason, sat twenty-six days, and in that time accomplished all that had been expected from it. The six previous assemblies, all that had been held since the accession of James to the English crown, were unanimously declared unlawful, and of course all their acts illegal. In that held at Linlithgow 1606, all the acts that were passed were sent down from the court ready framed, and one appointing bishops constant moderators, was clandestinely inserted among them without ever having been brought to a vote, besides that eight of the most able ministers delegated to attend it, were forcibly prevented in an illegal manner by the constituted authorities from attending. In that held at Glasgow in 1608, nobles and barons attended and voted by the simple mandate of the king, besides several members from presbyteries, and thirteen bishops who had no commission. Still worse was that at Aberdeen 1616, where the most shameful bribery was openly practised, and no less than sixteen of his creatures were substituted by the primate of St Andrews for sixteen lawfully chosen commissioners. That which followed at St Andrews was so notoriously illegal, as never

to have found a defender; and the most noxious of all, that at Perth in 1619, was informal and disorderly in almost all possible respects. The chair was assumed by the archbishop of St Andrews without any election; members, however regularly chosen and attested, that were suspected not to be favourable to court measures, were struck out and their places filled up by such as the managers could calculate upon being perfectly pliable. The manner of putting the votes and the use that was made of the king's name to influence the voters in this most shamefully packed assembly, were of themselves good and valid reasons for annulling its decisions. These six corrupt convocations being condemned as illegal, their acts became illegal of course, and episcopacy totally subverted. Two archbishops and six bishops were excommunicated, four bishops were deposed, and two who made humble submission to the assembly, were simply suspended, and thus the whole Scottish bench was at once silenced. The assembly rose in great triumph on the twentieth of December. "We have now," said the moderator, Henderson, "cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." While the assembly was thus doing its work, the time-serving marquis of Hamilton was according to the instructions of his master, practising all the shifts that he could devise for affording the king the better grounds of quarrel, and for protracting the moment of hostilities, so as to allow Charles time to collect his forces. Preparations for an invasion of Scotland had for some time been in progress, and in May, 1639, he approached the border with about sixteen thousand men, while a large host of Irish papists was expected to land in his behalf upon the west coast, and Hamilton entered the Frith of Forth with a fleet containing a small army.

During this first campaign, while general Lesly with the main body of the Scottish army marched for the border with the view of carrying the war into England, Montrose, at this time the most violent of all the covenanters, was sent to the north to watch over Huntly and the Aberdonians, and Argyre proceeded to his own country to watch the Macdonalds, and the earl of Antrim, who threatened to lay it waste. For this purpose he raised not less than nine hundred of his vassals, part of whom he stationed in Kintyre, to watch the movements of the Irish, and part in Lorn to guard against the Macdonalds, while with a third part he passed over into Arran, which he secured by seizing upon the castle of Brodick, one of the strengths belonging to the marquis of Hamilton; and this rendered the attempt on the part of the Irish at the time nearly impossible. On the pacification that took place at Birks, near Berwick, Argyre was sent for to court; but the earl of Loudon having been sent up as commissioner from the Scottish estates, and by his majesty's order sent to the Tower, where he was said to have narrowly escaped a violent death, the earl of Argyre durst not, at this time, trust himself in the king's hands. On the resumption of hostilities in 1640, when Charles was found to have signed the treaty of Birks only to gain time till he could return to the charge with better prospects of success, the care of the west coast, and the reduction of the northern clans, was again intrusted to Argyre. Committing, on this occasion, the care of Kintyre and the Islands to their own inhabitants, he traversed, with a force of about five thousand men attended by a small train of artillery, the districts of Badenoch, Athol, and Marr, levying the taxes imposed by the estates, and enforcing subjection to their authority. The earl of Athol having made a show of resistance at the Ford of Lyon, was sent prisoner to Stirling; and his factor, Stuart, younger of Grantully, with twelve of the leading men in his neighbourhood, he commanded to enter in ward at Edinburgh till they found security for their good behaviour, and he exacted ten thousand pounds Scots in the district, for the support of his army. Passing thence into Angus, he demolished the castles of Airly and For-

thar, residences of the earl of Airly, and returned to Argyleshire, the greater part of his troops being sent to the main body in England.

In this campaign the king felt himself just as little able to contend with his people, as in that of the previous year; and by making concessions similar to those he had formerly made, and, as the event showed, with the same insincerity, he obtained another pacification at Rippon, in the month of October, 1640. Montrose, who had been disgusted with the covenanters, and gained over by the king, now began to form a party of loyalists in Scotland, preferring to be the head of an association of that nature, however dangerous the place, to a second or third situation in the insurgent councils. His designs were accidentally discovered, while he was along with the army, and he was put under arrest. To ruin Argyle, who was the object of his aversion, Montrose now reported, that at the Ford of Lyon he had said that the covenanters had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and had gotten resolution, that it might be done in three cases—desertion, invasion, and vendition, and that they had resolved, at the last sitting of parliament, to accomplish that object next session. For this malicious falsehood Montrose referred to a Mr John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, who upon being questioned retracted the accusation which he owned he had uttered out of pure malice, to be revenged upon Argyle. Stuart was, of course, prosecuted before the justiciary for *leasing-making*, and, though he professed the deepest repentance for his crime, was executed. The king, though he had made an agreement with his Scottish subjects, was getting every day upon worse terms with the English, and in the summer of 1641, came to Scotland with the view of engaging the affections of that kingdom to enable him to oppose the parliament with the more effect. On this occasion his majesty displayed great condescension; he appointed Henderson to be one of his chaplains, attended divine service without either service-book or ceremonies, and was liberal of his favours to all the leading covenanters. Argyle was on this occasion particularly attended to, together with the marquis of Hamilton, and his brother Lanark, both of whom had become reconciled to the covenanters, and admitted to their full share of power. Montrose, in the meantime, was under confinement, but was indefatigable in his attempts to ruin those whom he supposed to stand between him and the object of his ambition, the supreme direction of public affairs. For the accomplishment of this darling purpose, he proposed nothing less than the assassination of the earls of Argyle and Lanark, with the marquis of Hamilton. Finding that the king regarded his proposals with horror, he conceived the gentler design of arresting these nobles during the night, after being called upon pretence of speaking with him in his bed-chamber, when they might be delivered to a body of soldiers prepared under the earl of Crawford, who was to carry them on board a vessel in Leith Roads, or to assassinate them if they made any resistance; but, at all events, detain them, till his majesty had gained a sufficient ascendancy in the country to try, condemn, and execute them under colour of law. Colonel Cochrane was to have marched with his regiment from Musselburgh to overawe the city of Edinburgh: a vigorous attempt was at the same time to have been made by Montrose to obtain possession of the castle, which, it was supposed, would have been the full consummation of their purpose. In aid of this plot, an attempt was made to obtain a declaration for the king from the English army, and the catholics of Ireland were to have made a rising, which they actually attempted on the same day, all evidently undertaken in concert for the promotion of the royal cause—but all of which had the contrary effect. Some one, invited to take a part in the plot against Argyle and the Hamiltons, communicated it to colonel Hurry, who communicated it to general Leslie, and he lost not a moment in warning the persons more immediately con-

cerned, who took precautions for their security the ensuing night, and, next morning, after writing an apology to the king for their conduct, fled to Kiniel House, in West Lothian, where the mother of the two Hamiltons at that time resided. The city of Edinburgh was thrown into a state of the utmost alarm, in consequence of all the leading covenanters judging it necessary to have guards placed upon their houses for the protection of their persons. In the afternoon, the king, going up the main street, was followed by upwards of five hundred armed men, who entered the outer hall of the Parliament house along with him, which necessarily increased the confusion. The house, alarmed by this military array, refused to proceed to business till the command of all the troops in the city and neighbourhood was intrusted to general Leslie, and every stranger, whose character and business was not particularly known, ordered to leave the city. His majesty seemed to be highly incensed against the three noblemen, and demanded that they should not be allowed to return to the house till the matter had been thoroughly investigated. A private committee was suggested, to which the investigation might more properly be submitted than to the whole house, in which suggestion his majesty acquiesced. The three noblemen returned to their post in a few days, were to all appearance received into their former state of favour, and the whole matter seemed in Scotland at once to have dropped into oblivion. Intelligence of the whole affair was, however, sent up to the English Parliament by their agents, who, under the name of commissioners, attended as spies upon the king, and it had a lasting, and a most pernicious effect upon his affairs. This, and the news of the Irish insurrection, which speedily followed, caused his majesty to hasten his departure, after he had feasted the whole body of the nobility in the great hall of the palace of Holyrood, on the seventeenth of November, 1641, having two days before created Argyle a marquis. On his departure the king declared, that he went away a contented prince from a contented people. He soon found, however, that nothing under a moral assurance of the protection of their favourite system of worship, and church government—an assurance which he had it not in power, from former circumstances, to give—could thoroughly secure the attachment of the Scots, who, to use a modern phrase, were more disposed to fraternize with the popular party in England, than with him. Finding on his return that the Parliament was getting more and more intractable, he sent down to the Scottish privy council a representation of the insults and injuries he had received from that parliament, and the many encroachments they had made upon his prerogative, with a requisition that the Scottish council would, by commissioners, send up to Westminster a declaration of the deep sense they entertained of the danger and injustice of their present course. A privy council was accordingly summoned, to which the friends of the court were more particularly invited, and to this meeting all eyes were directed. A number of the friends of the court, Kinnoul, Roxburgh, and others, now known by the name of *Banders*, having assembled in the capital with numerous retainers, strong suspicions were entertained that a design upon the life of Argyle was in contemplation. The gentlemen of Fife, and the Lothians, with their followers, hastened to the scene of action, where the high royalists, who had expected to carry matters in the council against the English Parliament, met with so much opposition, that they abandoned their purpose, and the king signified his pleasure that they should not interfere in the business. When hostilities had actually commenced between the king and the parliament, Argyle was so far prevailed upon by the marquis of Hamilton, to trust the asseverations which accompanied his majesty's expressed wishes for peace, as to be willing to second his proposed attempt at negotiation with the Parliament, and he signed, along with Loudon, Warriston, and Henderson, the

invitation, framed by the court party, to the queen to return from Holland, to assist in mediating a peace between his majesty and the two houses of Parliament. The battle of Edgehill, however, so inspirited the king, that he rejected the offer on the pretence that he durst not hazard her person. In 1642, when, in compliance with the request of the Parliament of England, troops were raised by the Scottish estates, to aid the protestants of Ireland, Argyle was nominated to a colonelcy in one of the regiments, and in the month of January, 1644, he accompanied general Leslie, with the Scottish army, into England as chief of the committee of Parliament, but in a short time returned with tidings of the defeat of the marquis of Newcastle at Newburn. The ultra royalists, highly offended at the assistance afforded by the estates of Scotland, to the Parliament of England, had already planned and begun to execute different movements in the north, which they intended should either overthrow the Estates, or reduce them to the necessity of recalling their army from England for their own defence. The marquis of Huntly having received a commission from Charles, had already commenced hostilities, by making prisoners of the provost and magistrates of Aberdeen, and at the same time plundering the town of all the arms and ammunition it contained. He also published a declaration of hostilities against the covenanters. Earl Marischal, apprized of this, summoned the committees of Angus and Mearns, and sent a message to Huntly to dismiss his followers. Huntly, trusting to the assurances he had had from Montrose, Crawford, and Nithsdale of assistance from the south, and from Ireland, sent an insulting reply to the committee, requiring them to dismiss, and not interrupt the peace of the country. In the month of April, Argyle was despatched against him, with what troops he could raise for the occasion, and came unexpectedly upon him after his followers had plundered and set on fire the town of Montrose, whence they retreated to Aberdeen. Thither they were followed by Argyle, who, learning that the laird of Haddow, with a number of his friends, had fortified them selves in the house of Killie, marched thither, and invested it with his army. Unwilling, however, to lose time by a regular siege, he sent a trumpeter offering pardon to every man in the garrison who should surrender, the laird of Haddow excepted. Seeing no means of escape, the garrison accepted the terms. Haddow was sent to Edinburgh, brought to trial on a charge of treason, found guilty, and executed. Huntly, afraid of being sent to his old quarters in Edinburgh castle, repaired to the Bog of Gight, accompanied only by two or three individuals of his own clan, whence he brought away some trunks filled with silver, gold, and apparel, which he intrusted to one of his followers, who, finding a vessel ready to sail for Caithness, shipped the trunks, and set off with them, leaving the marquis to shift for himself. The marquis, who had yet one thousand dollars, committed them to the care of another of his dependants, and taking a small boat, set out in pursuit of the trunks. On landing in Sutherland he could command no better accommodation than a wretched ale-house. Next day he proceeded to Caithness, where he found lodgings with his cousin-german, Francis Sinclair, and most unexpectedly fell in with the runaway and his boxes, with which by sea he proceeded to Strathnaver, where he remained in close retirement for upwards of twelve months. In the meantime, about twelve hundred of the promised Irish auxiliaries, under Alaster Macdonald, landed on the island of Mull, where they captured some of the small fortresses, and, sailing for the mainland, they disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, to whom this Alaster Macdonald was a mortal enemy, having sent round some ships of war from Leith, which seized the vessels that had transported them over, they were unable to leave the country, and he himself, with a formidable force, hanging upon their rear, they were driven into

the interior, and traversed the wilds of Lochaber and Badenoch, expecting to meet a royal army under Montrose, though in what place they had no knowledge. Macdonald, in order to strengthen them in numbers, had sent through the fiery cross in various directions, though with only indifferent success, till Montrose at last met them, having found his way through the country in disguise all the way from Oxford, with only one or two attendants. Influenced by Montrose, the men of Athol, who were generally anti-covenanters, joined the royal standard in great numbers, and he soon found himself at the head of a formidable army. His situation was not, however, promising. Argyle was in his rear, being in pursuit of the Irish, who were perfect banditti, and had committed terrible ravages upon his estates, and there were before him six or seven thousand men under lord Elcho, stationed at Perth. Elcho's troops, however, were only raw militia, officered by men who had never seen an engagement, and the leaders among them were not unjustly suspected of being disaffected to the cause. As the most prudent measure, he did not wait to be attacked, but went to meet Montrose, who was marching through Strathearn, having commenced his career by plundering the lands, and burning the houses of the clan Menzies. Elcho took up a position upon the plain of Tippermuir, where he was attacked by Montrose, and totally routed in the space of a few minutes. Perth fell at once into the hands of the victor, and was plundered of money, and whatever was valuable, and could be carried away. The stoutest young men he also impressed into the ranks, and seized upon all the horses fit for service. Thus strengthened, he poured down upon Angus, where he received numerous reinforcements. Dundee he attempted, but finding there were troops in it sufficient to hold it out for some days, and dreading the approach of Argyle, who was still following him, he pushed north to Aberdeen. Here his covenanting rage had been bitterly felt, and at his approach the committee sent off the public money and all their most valuable effects to Dunnottar castle. They at the same time threw up some rude fortifications, and had two thousand men prepared to give him a warm reception. Crossing the Dee by a ford, he at once eluded their fortifications and deranged their order of battle; and issuing orders for an immediate attack, they were defeated, and a scene of butchery followed which has few parallels in the annals of civilized warfare. In the fields, the streets, or the houses, armed or unarmed, no man found mercy: the ragged they killed and stripped; the well-dressed, for fear of spoiling their clothes, they stripped and killed.

After four days employed in this manner, the approach of Argyle, whom they were not sufficiently numerous to combat, drove them to the north, where they intended to take refuge beyond the Spey. The boats, however, were all removed to the other side, and the whole force of Moray was assembled to dispute the passage. In this dilemma, nothing remained for Montrose but to take refuge among the hills, and his rapid movements enabled him to gain the wilds of Badenoch with the loss only of his artillery and heavy baggage, where he bade defiance to the approach of any thing like a regular army. After resting a few days, he again descended into Athol to recruit, having sent Macdonald into the Highlands on the same errand. From Athol he entered Angus, where he wasted the estates of lord Couper, and plundered the house of Dun, in which the inhabitants of Montrose had deposited their valuables, and which also afforded a supply of arms and artillery. Argyle, all this while, followed his footsteps with a superior army, but could never come up with him. He, however, proclaimed him a traitor, and offered a reward of twenty thousand pounds for his head. Having strengthened his army by forced levies in Athol, Montrose again crossed the Grampians, and spreading devastation along his line of march, attempted once more to raise the Gordons. In this he was

still unsuccessful, and at the castle of Fyvie, which he had taken, was at last surprised by Argyle and the earl of Lothian, who, with an army of three thousand horse and foot, were within two miles of his camp, when he believed them to be on the other side of the Grampians. Here, had there been any thing like management on the part of the army of the Estates, his career had certainly closed, but in military affairs Argyle was neither skilful nor brave. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, Montrose drew off his little army with scarcely any loss, and by the way of Strathbogie plunged again into the wilds of Badenoch, where he expected Macdonald and the Irish with what recruits they had been able to raise. Argyle, whose army was now greatly weakened by desertion, returned to Edinburgh and threw up his commission in disgust. The Estates, however, received him in the most friendly manner, and passed an act approving of his conduct.

By the parliament which met this year, on the 4th of June, Argyle was named, along with the chancellor Loudoun, lords Balmerino, Warriston, and others, as commissioners, to act in concert with the English parliament in their negotiations with the king; but from the manner in which he was occupied, he must have been able to overtake a very small part of the duties included in the commission. Montrose no sooner found that Argyle had retired and left the field clear, than, to keep up the spirit of his followers, and to satiate his revenge, he marched them into Glenorchy, belonging to a near relation of Argyle, and in the depth of winter rendered the whole country one wide field of blood: nor was this destruction confined to Glenorchy; it was extended through Argyle and Lorn to the very confines of Lochaber, not a house he was able to surprise being left unburned, nor a man unslaughtered. Spalding adds, "he left not a four-footed beast in the haill country; such as would not drive he houghed and slew, that they should never make stead." Having rendered the country a wilderness, he bent his way for Inverness, when he was informed that Argyle had collected an army of three thousand men, and had advanced as far as Inverlochy, on his march to the very place upon which he himself was advancing. Montrose was no sooner informed of the circumstance, than, striking across the almost inaccessible wilds of Lochaber, he came, by a march of about six and thirty hours, upon the camp of Argyle at Inverlochy, and was within half a mile of it before they knew that there was an enemy within several days' march of them. The state of his followers did not admit of an immediate attack by Montrose; but every thing was ready for it by the dawn of day, and with the dissolving mists of the morning. On the second of February, 1645, Argyle, from his pinnacle on the lake, whither he had retired on account of a hurt he had caught by a fall from his horse, which disabled him from fighting, beheld the total annihilation of his army, one half of it being literally cut to pieces, and the other dissipated among the adjoining mountains, or driven into the water. Unable to afford the smallest assistance to his discomfited troops, he immediately hoisted sails and made for a place of safety. On the twelfth of the month, he appeared before the parliament, then sitting in Edinburgh, to which he related the tale of his own and their misfortune, in the best manner no doubt which the case could admit of. The circumstances, however, were such as no colouring could hide, and the Estates were certainly deeply affected. But the victory at Inverlochy, though as complete as victory can well be supposed, and gained with the loss too of only two or three men, was perhaps more pernicious to the victors than the vanquished. The news of it unhappily reached Charles at a time when he was on the point of accepting the terms of reconciliation offered to his parliament, which reconciliation, if effected, might have closed the war for ever, and he no sooner heard



of this remarkable victory, than he resolved to reject them, and trust to continued hostilities for the means of obtaining a more advantageous treaty. Montrose, also, whose forces were always reduced after a victory, as the Highlanders were wont to go home to deposit their spoils, could take no other advantage of "the day of Inverlochy," than to carry on, upon a broader scale, and with less interruption, the barbarous system of warfare which political, religious, and feudal hostility had induced him to adopt. Instead of marching towards the capital, where he might have followed up his victory to the utter extinction of the administration of the Estates, he resumed his march along the course of the Spey into the province of Moray, and, issuing an order for all the men above sixteen and below sixty to join his standard, under the pain of military execution, proceeded to burn the houses and destroy the goods upon the estates of Grangehill, Brodie, Cowbin, Innes, Ballendalloch, Foyness, and Pitchash. He plundered also the village of Garmouth and the lands of Burgie, Lethen, and Duffus, and destroyed all the boats and nets upon the Spey. Argyle having thrown up his commission as general of the army, which was given to general Baillie, he was now attached to it only as member of a committee appointed by the parliament to direct its movements, and in this capacity was present at the battle of Kilsyth, August 15th, 1645, the most disastrous of all the six victories of Montrose to the Covenanters, upwards of six thousand men being slain on the field of battle and in the pursuit. This, however, was the last of the exploits of the great marquis. There being no more detachments of militia in the country to oppose to him, general David Leslie, with some regiments of horse, were recalled from the army in England, who surprised and defeated him at Philiphaugh, annihilating his little army, and, according to an ordinance of parliament, hanging up without distinction all the Irish battalions.

In the month of February, 1646, Argyle was sent over to Ireland to bring home the Scottish troops that had been sent to that country to assist in repressing the turbulence of the Catholics. He returned to Edinburgh in the month of May following. In the meantime, Alister Macdonald, the coadjutor of Montrose, had made another tour through his country of Argyle, giving to the sword and the devouring flame whatever had escaped in the former inroads, so that upwards of twelve hundred of the miserable inhabitants, to escape absolute starvation, were compelled to emigrate, under one of their chieftains, Ardinglass, into Menteith, where they attempted to settle themselves upon the lands of the malignant. But scarcely had they made the attempt, when they were attacked by Inchbrackie, with a party of Athol men, and chased beyond the Forth near Stirling, where they were joined by the marquis, who carried them into Lennox, and quartered them upon the lands of lord Napier, till he obtained an act to embody them into a regiment, to be stationed in different parts of the Highlands, and a grant from parliament for a supply of provisions for his castles. So deplorably had his estates been wasted by the inroads of Montrose and Macdonald, that a sum of money was voted him for the support of himself and family, and for paying annual rents to some of the more necessitous creditors upon his estates. A collection was at the same time ordered through all the churches of Scotland, for the relief of his poor people who had been plundered by the Irish. In the month of July, 1646, when the king had surrendered himself to the Scottish army, Argyle went up to Newcastle to wait upon and pay his respects to him. On the 3d of August following, he was sent up to London, along with Loudon, the chancellor, and the earl of Dunfermline, to treat with the parliament of England, concerning a mitigation of the articles they had presented to the king, with some of which he was not at all satisfied. He was

also on this occasion the bearer of a secret commission from the king, to consult with the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford concerning the propriety of the Scottish army and parliament declaring for him. Both of these noblemen totally disapproved of the scheme, as they were satisfied it would be the entire ruin of his interests. In this matter, Argyle certainly did not act with perfect integrity; and it was probably a feeling of conscious duplicity which prevented him from being present at any of the committees concerning the king's person, or any treaty for the withdrawal of the Scottish army, or the payment of its arrears. The opinion of these two noblemen, however, he faithfully reported to his majesty, who professed to be satisfied, but spoke of adopting some other plan, giving evident proof that his pretending to accept conditions was a mere pretence—a put off—till he might be able to lay hold of some lucky turn in the chapter of accidents. It was probably from a painful anticipation of the fatal result of the king's pertinacity, that Argyle, when he returned to Edinburgh and attended the parliament, which assembled on the 3d of November, demanded and obtained an explicit approval of all that he had transacted, as their accredited commissioner; and it must not be lost sight of, that, for all the public business he had been engaged in, except what was voted him in consequence of his great losses, he never hitherto had received one farthing of salary.

When the Engagement, as it was called, was entered into by the marquis of Hamilton, and other Scottish presbyterian loyalists, Argyle opposed it, because, from what he had been told by the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford, when he had himself been half embarked in a scheme somewhat similar, he believed it would be the total ruin of his majesty's cause. The event completely justified his fears. By exasperating the sectaries and republicans, it was the direct and immediate cause of the death of the king. On the march of the Engagers into England, Argyle, Eglington, Cassilis, and Lothian, marched into Edinburgh at the head of a great multitude of people whom they had raised, before whom the committee of Estates left the city, and the irremediable defeat of the Engagers, which instantly followed, entirely sinking the credit of the party, they never needed to return, the reins of government falling into the hands of Argyle, Warriston, Loudon, and others of the more zealous party of the presbyterians. The flight of the few Engagers who reached their native land, was followed by Cromwell, who came all the way to Berwick, with the purpose apparently of invading Scotland. Argyle, in the month of September or October, 1648, went to Mordington, where he had an interview with that distinguished individual, whom, along with general Lambert, he conducted to Edinburgh, where he was received in a way worthy of his high fame, and every thing between the two nations was settled in the most amicable manner, the Solemn League and Covenant being renewed, the Engagement proscribed, and all who had been concerned in it summoned to appear before parliament, which was appointed to meet at Edinburgh on the 4th of January, 1649. It has been, without the least particle of evidence, asserted that Argyle, in the various interviews he held with Cromwell at this time, agreed that Charles should be executed. The losses to which Argyle was afterwards subjected, and the hardships he endured for adhering to Charles' interests after he was laid in his grave, should, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, be a sufficient attestation of his loyalty, not to speak of the parliament, of which he was unquestionably the most influential individual, in the ensuing month of February proclaiming Charles II. king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, &c. than which nothing could be more offensive to the then existing government of England. In sending over the deputation that waited upon Charles in Holland

in the spring of 1649, Argyle was heartily concurring, though he had been not a little disgusted with his associates in the administration, on account of the execution of his brother-in-law, the marquis of Huntly, whom he in vain exerted all his influence to save. It is also said that he refused to assist at the trial, or to concur in the sentence passed upon the marquis of Montrose, in the month of May, 1650, declaring that he was too much a party to be a judge in that matter. Of the leading part he performed in the installation of Charles II., upon whose head he placed the crown at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651, we have not room to give any particular account. Of the high consequence in which his services were held at the time, there needs no other proof than the report that the king intended marrying one of his daughters. For the defence of the king and kingdom, against both of whom Cromwell was now ready to lead all his troops, he, as head of the Committee of Estates, made the most vigorous exertions. Even after the defeat at Dunbar, and the consequent ascendancy of the king's personal interests, he adhered to his majesty with unabated zeal and diligence, of which Charles seems to have been sensible at the time, as the following letter, in his own hand writing, which he delivered to Argyle under his sign manual, abundantly testifies:—"Having taken into consideration the faithful endeavours of the marquis of Argyle for restoring me to my just rights, and the happy settling of my dominions, I am desirous to let the world see how sensible I am of his real respect to me by some particular marks of my favour to him, by which they may see the trust and confidence which I repose in him: and particularly, I do promise that I will make him duke of Argyle, knight of the garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bed-chamber, and this to be performed when he shall think it fit. And I do farther promise him to hearken to his counsels, [*passage worn out*]. Whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England, I shall see him paid the £40,000 sterling which is due to him; all which I promise to make good to him upon the word of a king. CHARLES REX, St Johnston, September 24th, 1650." When Charles judged it expedient to lead the Scottish army into England, in the vain hope of raising the cavaliers and moderate presbyterians in his favour, Argyle obtained leave to remain at home, on account of the illness of his lady. After the whole hopes of the Scots were laid low at Worcester, September 3d, 1651, he retired to Inverary, where he held out against the triumphant troops of Cromwell for a whole year, till, falling sick, he was surprised by general Dean, and carried to Edinburgh. Having received orders from Monk to attend a privy council, he was entrapped to be present at the ceremony of proclaiming Cromwell lord Protector. A paper was at the same time tendered him to sign, containing his submission to the government, as settled without king or house of lords, which he absolutely refused, though afterwards, when he was in no condition to struggle farther, he signed a promise to live peaceably under that government. He was always watched, however, by the ruling powers, and never was regarded by any of the authorities as other than a concealed loyalist. When Scotland was declared by Cromwell to be incorporated with England, Argyle exerted himself, in opposition to the council of state, to have Scotsmen alone elected to serve in parliament for North Britain, of which Monk complained to Thurlow, in a letter from Dalkeith, dated September 30, 1658. Under Richard he was himself elected for the county of Aberdeen, and took his seat accordingly in the house, where he wrought most effectually for the service of the king, by making that breach through which his majesty entered. On the Restoration, Argyle's best friends advised him to keep out of the way on account of his compliances with the usurpation; but he judged it more honourable and honest to go and congratu-

late his majesty upon so happy a turn in his affairs. To this he must have been misled from the promissory note of kindness which he held, payable on demand, as well as by some flattering expressions which Charles had made use of regarding him to his son, lord Lorn; but when he arrived at Whitehall, July 8, 1660 the king no sooner heard his name announced, than, "with an angry stamp of the foot, he ordered Sir William Fleming to execute his orders," which were to carry him to the Tower. To the Tower he was carried accordingly, where he lay till the month of December, when he was sent down to Leith aboard a man-of-war, to stand his trial before the high court of parliament. While confined in the Tower, the marquis made application to have the affidavits of several persons in England taken respecting some matters of fact, when he was concerned in the public administration before the usurpation, which, had justice been the object of the prosecution against him, could not have been denied. Revenge, however, being the object, facts might have happened to prove inconvenient, and the request was flatly refused.

On his arrival at Leith, he was conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, and, preparatory to his being brought to trial, the president of the committee for bills, on the eighteenth of January, reported to the parliament that a supplication had been presented to them by the laird of Lamont, craving warrant to cite the marquis of Argyle, with some others, to appear before parliament, to answer for crimes committed by him and them as specified in the bill given in. Some little opposition was made to this; but it was carried by a vast plurality to grant warrant according to the prayer of the petition. This charge could not be intended to serve any other purpose than to raise a prejudice in the public mind against the intended victim; for it was a charge which not a few of the managers themselves knew well to be false. Middleton could have set the question at once to rest, as he had had a deeper hand in many of the cruelties complained of than Argyle, for he had acted under general Leslie, in suppressing the remains of Montrose's army, and, much nearer home than the islands, namely at Kintardine house, belonging to Montrose, had shot twelve cavaliers without any ceremony, sending the remainder to be hanged at Edinburgh, all which, be it observed, was in defence of a party of Argyle's people who had been driven to seek refuge in Lennox, and was no doubt one of the items in the general charge. But the charge generally referred to the clearing of his own territories of Alistair Macdonald and his Irish bands by Leslie, who, in reducing the strengths belonging to the loyalists in the north, had, conformably to the orders of parliament, shot or hanged every Irishman he found in them without ceremony. Sir James Turner, who was upon this expedition, and has left an account of it in his *Memoirs*, acquits Argyle of all blame, in so far as concerns the seizure of the castle of Dunavertie, one of the cases that has been most loudly complained of, though he fastens a stain on the character of Mr John Nevoy, the divine who accompanied the expedition, who, he says, took a pleasure in wading through the blood of the victims. A small extract will show that Leslie confined himself strictly to the parliamentary order, which was perhaps no more severe than the dreadful character of the times had rendered necessary. "From Ila we boated over to Jura, a horrid isle, and a habitation fit for deer and wild beasts, and so from isle to isle till we come to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Here Maclean saved his lands with the loss of his reputation, if he ever had any: he gave up his strong castles to Leslie; gave his eldest son for hostage of his fidelity, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen very pretty Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the lieutenant general, who immediately caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from

Maclean; but inexcusably ill done in him to betray them. Here I cannot forget one Donald Campbell, fleeced in blood from his very infancy, who, with all imaginable violence, pressed that the whole clan Maclean should be put to the sword, nor could he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the lieutenant general and two major generals, and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief, the marquis of Argyle. For my part, I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his suit, the delivering of the Irish had so much irritated me against that whole clan and name." Argyle was brought before parliament on the 13th of February 1661. His indictment, consisting of fourteen articles, comprehended the history of all the transactions that had taken place in Scotland since 1638. The whole procedure, on one side of the question, during all that time, had already been declared rebellion, and each individual concerned was of course liable to the charge of treason. Middleton, lord high commissioner to parliament, eager to possess his estate, of which he doubted not he would obtain the gift, conducted the trial in a manner not only inconsistent with justice, but with the dignity and the decency that ought ever to characterise a public character. From the secret conversations he had held with Cromwell, Middleton drew the conclusion, that the interruption of the treaty of Newport and the execution of Charles had been the fruit of their joint deliberations. He was defended on this point by Sir John Gilmour, president of the court of Session, with such force of argument as to compel the reluctant parliament to exculpate him from all blame in the matter of the king's death; and, after having exhibited the utmost contempt for truth, and a total disregard of character or credit, provided they could obtain their point, the destruction of the pannel, the crown lawyers were at length obliged to fix on his compliance with the English during the usurpation, as the only species of treason that could at all be made to affect him. Upon this point there was not one of his judges who had not been equally, and some of them much more guilty than himself. "How could I suppose," said the marquis, with irresistible effect in his defence on this point, "that I was acting criminally, when the learned gentleman who now acts as his majesty's advocate, took the same oaths to the commonwealth with myself?" He was not less successful in replying to every iota of his indictment, in addition to which he gave in a signed supplication and submission to his majesty, which was regarded just as little as his defences. The moderation, the good sense, and the magnanimity, however, which he displayed, joined to his innocence of the crimes charged against him, wrought so strongly upon the house, that great fears were entertained that, after all, he would be acquitted; and to counteract the influence of his two sons, lord Lorne and lord Neil Campbell, who were both in London, exerting themselves as far as they could in his behalf, Glencairn, Rothes, and Sharpe were sent up to court, where, when it was found that the proof was thought to be defective, application was made to general Monk, who furnished them with some of the marquis of Argyle's private letters, which were sent down post to Middleton, who laid them before parliament, and by this means obtained a sentence of condemnation against the noble marquis, on Saturday the 25th, and he was executed accordingly on Monday the 27th of May, 1661. Than the behaviour of this nobleman during his trial, and after his receiving sentence of death, nothing could be more dignified or becoming the character of a christian. Conscious of his integrity, he defended his character and conduct with firmness and magnanimity, but with great gentleness and the highest respect for authority. After receiving his sentence, when brought back to the common jail, his excellent lady was waiting for him, and, embracing him, wept bitterly, exclaiming, "the Lord will requite it;" but, calm and composed, he said, "Forbear;

truly, I pity them ; they know not what they are doing ; they may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut out God from me. For my part, I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty, and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all." His short time till Monday he spent in serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercises of a dying christian. To some of the ministers he said that they would shortly envy him for having got before them, for he added, " my skill fails me, if you who are ministers will not either suffer much, or sin much ; for, though you go along with those men in part, if you do it not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer ; and if you go not at all with them, you shall but suffer." On the morning of his execution, he spent two hours in subscribing papers, making conveyances, and forwarding other matters of business relating to his estate ; and while so employed, he suddenly became so overpowered with a feeling of divine goodness, according to contemporary authority, that he was unable to contain himself, and exclaimed, " I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodness, but it will not do : I am now ordering my affairs, and God is sealing my charter to a better inheritance, and saying to me, ' Son, be of good cheer ; thy sins are forgiven thee.' " He wrote the same day a most affecting letter to the king, recommending to his protection his wife and children. " He came to the scaffold," says Burnet, " in a very solemn, but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the nobility and some ministers. He spoke for half an hour with a great appearance of serenity. Cunningham, his physician, told me that he touched his pulse, and it did then beat at the usual rate, calm and strong." It is related, as another proof of the resolution of Argyle, in the last trying scene, that, though he had eaten a whole partridge at dinner, no vestige of it was found in his stomach after death ; if he had been much affected by the anticipation of death, his digestion, it may be easily calculated, could not have been so good. His head was struck off by the instrument called the Maiden, and affixed on the west end of the Tolbooth, where that of Montrose had been till very lately perched ; a circumstance that very sensibly marks the vicissitudes of a time of civil dissension. His body was conveyed by his friends to Dunoon, and buried in the family sepulchre at Kilmun.

Argyle, with few qualities to captivate the fancy, has always been esteemed by the people of Scotland as one of the most consistent and meritorious of their array of patriots. For the sake of his exemplary moral and religious character, and his distinguished exertions in the resistance to the measures of Charles I., as well as his martyrdom in that cause, they have overlooked a quality generally obnoxious to their contempt—his want of courage in the field—which caused him, throughout the whole of the transactions of the civil war, to avoid personal contact with danger, though often at the head of large bodies of troops. The habits of Argyle in private life were those of an eminently and sincerely pious man. In Mr Wodrow's diary of traditionary collections, which remains in manuscript in the Advocates' Library, it is related, under May 9, 1702, upon the credit of a clergyman, the last survivor of the General Assembly of 1651, that his lordship used to rise at five, and continue in private till eight : besides family worship, and private prayer, morning and evening, he prayed with his lady morning and evening, in the presence of his own *gentleman* and her *gentlewoman* ; he never went abroad, though but for one night, without taking along with him his writing-standish, a bible, and Newman's Concordance. Upon the same authority, we relate the following anecdote : " After the coronation of king Charles II. at Scone, he waited a long time for an opportunity of dealing freely with his majesty on religious matters, and particular-

ly about his suspected disregard of the covenant, and his encouragement of malignants, and other sins. One sabbath night, after supper, he went into the king's closet, and began to converse with him on these topics. Charles was seemingly sensible, and they came at length to pray and mourn together till two or three in the morning. When he came home to his lady, she was surprised, and told him she never knew him so untimeous. He said he never had had such a sweet night in the world, and told her all—what liberty he had in prayer, and how much convinced the king was. She said plainly that that night would cost him his head—which came to pass." Mr Wodrow also mentions that, during the Glasgow Assembly, Henderson and other ministers spent many nights in prayer, and conference with the marquis of Argyle, and he dated his conversion, or his knowledge of it, from those times. His lordship was married to Margaret, second daughter of William, second earl of Morton, and by her left two sons and three daughters.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, ninth Earl of Argyle, son of the preceding, was an equally unfortunate, though less distinguished political character, in the unhappiest era of Scottish history. He was educated under the eye of his father, and, at an early period of life, was highly distinguished for his personal accomplishments. After going through the schools, he was sent to travel on the continent, and, during the years 1647, 1648, and 1649, spent the greater part of his time in France and Italy. He appears to have returned to Scotland about the close of 1649, and we find him, in 1650, after Charles II. had arrived in Scotland, appointed colonel of one of the regiments of foot-guards, that were embodied on that occasion, which he held by commission from the king, refusing, from a principle of loyalty, to act under a commission from the parliament. He was present at the battle of Dunbar, fought in the month of September, 1650, when he displayed great bravery; and where his lieutenant-colonel, Wallace, who afterwards commanded the covenanters at Pentland, was taken prisoner. After the battle of Worcester, he still continued in arms, and kept up a party in the Highlands ready to serve his majesty on any favourable opportunity that might occur. Nor did he hesitate, for this purpose, to act along with the most deadly enemies of his house. In 1654, he joined the earl of Glencairn, with a thousand foot, and fifty horse, contrary to advice of his father, who saw no possibility of any good being done by that ill-advised armament. After having remained, along with this assemblage of cavaliers, for a fortnight, finding his situation neither safe nor comfortable among so many Murrays, Gordons, and Macdonalds, he withdrew from them, taking the road for the barracks of Ruthven, and was pursued by Macdonald of Glengary, who would certainly have slain him, had he not escaped with his horse, leaving his foot to shift for themselves. Glengary, having missed lord Lorne, would have revenged himself by killing his people, but was prevented by Glencairn, who took from them an oath of fidelity, and carried them back to the camp; whence they, in a short time, found means to escape in small bodies, till there was not one of them remaining. On this occasion, he carried a commission of lieutenant-general from Charles II., which rendered him so obnoxious to Cromwell, that he excepted him from his Act of Grace, published in the month of April this year. Lord Lorne was soon after this necessitated to take refuge in one of his remote islands, with only four or five attendants; and, seeing no prospect of any deliverance, submitted to the English in despair. In November of the following year, 1655, Monk compelled him to find security for his peaceable behaviour, to the amount of five thousand pounds sterling. He was, notwithstanding of all this, constantly watched, particularly by the lord Broghill, who had the meanness to corrupt even his body servants, and constitute them spies upon their master's conduct. In the spring

of 1657, Monk committed him to prison, and Broghill was earnest to have him carried to England, for the more effectually preventing his intrigues among the royalists. Shortly after the Restoration, he waited on his majesty, Charles II., with a letter from his father, and was received so graciously, that the marquis was induced to go up to London upon the same errand as his son, but was sent to the Tower without an audience. During the time that Middleton was practising against his father the marquis, lord Lorne exerted himself with great zeal, and though he failed in rescuing his beloved parent from the toils into which he had been hunted, he left a favourable impression on the mind of Charles with regard to himself, and, in place of bestowing the estates of Argyle upon Middleton, as that profligate fondly expected, he was induced to restore them, as well as the original title of earl, to the rightful heir. Nor was this all; when, to the astonishment of all the world, he was, by the Scottish parliament, condemned to death, under the odious statute respecting leasing-making, he was again saved by the royal favour, to the confusion of his enemies. For some considerable time after this, there is little to be told of the earl of Argyle, and that little no way creditable to his fame. He had his share of the preferments and of the dirty work of the period, in which he fouled his hands more than was meet, as a Highlander would say, for the son of his father. It was on the 29th of June, 1681, that Argyle gave his vote in the council against Donald Cargill; and the very next day the parliament sat down, which framed under the direction of the bigoted James VII., then duke of York, and commissioner to the Scottish parliament, that bundle of absurdities known by the name of the Test, which was imposed without mercy upon all, especially such as lay under any suspicion of presbyterianism. This absurd oath was refused by many of the episcopal ministers, who relinquished their places rather than debauch their consciences by swearing contradictions. Some took it with explanations, among whom was Argyle, who added the following; that, as the parliament never meant to impose contradictory oaths, he took it as far as consistent with itself and the protestant faith, but that he meant not to bind or preclude himself in his station, in a lawful manner, from wishing or endeavouring any alteration which he thought of advantage to the church or state, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty; and this he understood to be a part of his oath. Of the propriety of taking the test, even with this explanation, in a moral point of view, some doubt may reasonably be entertained. With such an explanation, why might not any oath be taken that ever was framed, and what can save such swearing from the charge of being a taking of God's name in vain; for an oath so explained is after all not an oath in the proper sense and meaning of the word. This explanation he submitted to the duke of York, who seemed to be perfectly satisfied; but he had no sooner put it in practice than he was indicted for his explanation, as containing treason, leasing, and perjury, and, by a jury of his peers, brought in guilty of the two first charges. This was on the 13th of December, 1681, and on the night of the 20th, fearing, as he had good reason, that his life would be taken, he made his escape out of the castle, disguised as a page, and bearing up the train of his step-daughter, lady Sophia Lindsay, sister to the earl of Balcarras. On the third day after sentence of death was pronounced upon him, Fountainhall says, "There was a great outcry against the criminal judges and their timorous dishonesty. The marquis of Montrose was chancellor of this assize. Sir George Lockhart called it lucrative treason to the advantage of church and state; and admired how a man could be condemned as a traitor for saying he would endeavour all the amendment he can to the advantage of church and state." Even those who thought the words deserved some lesser punishment, called it diabolical alchemy,



to screw them into treason. Lord Halifax told Charles himself, that he knew not the Scottish law, but the English law would not have hanged a dog for such a crime. On his escape from the castle, Argyle, by the direction of Mr John Scott, minister of Hawick, rode straight to the house of Pringle of Torwoodlee, who sent his servant along with him to the house of Mr William Veitch, who conducted him to Clapwell, in Derbyshire; where, becoming afraid from the alarm that had been everywhere given, Mr Veitch thought it prudent to advise with Lockyer, an old Cromwellian captain, who generously offered his services to conduct Argyle safely to London; which he did, bringing him first to Battersea, four miles above London, to Mr Smith's, a sugar baker's house, whose wife was a very pious and generous gentlewoman. They were rich, and had no children; of course they were able to do a great deal in the way of charity, without hurting themselves. They acquainted the lady with the earl's secret, but concealed it from her husband, and his lordship passed for an ordinary Scottish gentleman of the name of Hope. The lady, however, in a day or two, sent to one of her agents in the city to provide two chambers at a good distance from one another, where two friends of her's might be quiet and retired for a while; and Argyle and Veitch were sent to town by night to the house of Mr Holmes, the lady's agent, to be directed to their lodgings. None of them knew Holmes; but the moment Holmes came into the room which they had been shown, he took Argyle in his arms, saying, my dear lord Argyle, you are most welcome to me. Argyle, in astonishment, and not without some visible concern, inquired how he knew him. I knew you, said Holmes, since that day I took you prisoner in the Highlands, and brought you to the castle of Edinburgh. But now we are on one side, and I will venture all that is dear to me to save you. So he carried them to their several lodgings; those of Argyle being known to no one but Mr Veitch and Holmes. As soon as the noise about his escape was over, Mrs Smith brought them both out to a new house they had moved to at Brentford; Argyle passing for a Mr Hope, and Veitch for a captain Fabes. Here there were frequent meetings of noblemen, gentlemen, and rich merchants, with a view of devising means for preventing the nation from falling into slavery; but the whole ended in the discovery of the Rye-house plot, which occasioned the apprehending of Mr William Carstairs, Mr Spence, and Baillie of Jerviswood; the two former of whom were put to the torture, and the latter executed in the most cruel manner. Upon the appearance of the plot being discovered, Argyle went over to Holland; and Mrs Smith, who was deep in the plot also, persuaded her husband to emigrate to that country from general motives, for he was ignorant of the plot; and they continued to live together, taking up their abode at Utrecht. Veitch, happily, when the search was made for them in London, had departed for Scotland; and, after hiding for some time in the best manner he could, he also stole over to Holland. There he met with Monmouth, Argyle, the earl of Melville, lord Polwart, Torwoodlee, James Stuart, and many others similarly situated, who all took a deep interest in the plan now formed for invading both kingdoms at the same time, Monmouth to lead the attack upon England, and Argyle that upon Scotland. "Both of them," says Veitch, who seems to have been quite familiar with the whole plan, "had great promises sent them of assistance, but it turned to nothing, and no wonder; for the one part kept not their promises, and the other followed not the measures contrived and concerted at Amsterdam, April the 17th, 1685." The persons present at this meeting were Argyle, and his son Charles Campbell, Cochrane of Ochiltree, Hume of Polwart, Pringle of Torwoodlee, Denholm of Westshields, Hume of Bassendean, Cochrane of Waterside, Mr George Wisheart, William Cleland, James Stuart, and Gilbert Elliot. Mr Veitch says, he brought

old president Stairs to the meeting with much persuasion; and he gave bond for one thousand pounds to Madam Smith, whose husband was now dead; and she lent out six or seven thousand more to Argyle and others for carrying on the enterprise. Having made all necessary arrangements, so far as was in their power, and dispatched Messrs Barclay and Veitch, Cleland and Torwoodlee, to different parts of Scotland to prepare for their reception, Argyle and his company went on board their fleet of three ships, the *Anna*, *Sophia*, and *David*, lying off the *Vlie*, on the 28th of April; and, with a fair wind, set sail for Scotland, and in three days approached the Orkneys. At Kirkwall, most unfortunately, Spence, Argyle's secretary, and Blackadder, his physician, went on shore, were instantly apprehended by the bishop and sent up to Edinburgh, which alarmed the government, and gave them time to prepare for the attack which they had heard of, but of which they were now certain. Sailing round to Argyle's country, his son was landed, who sent through the fiery cross, but with no great effect. Finding that they were pursued by a frigate, they put into a creek and landed their arms and stores at the old castle of Allangreg. In the meantime, the marquis of Athol came against them with a considerable force, by whom they were drawn away from the castle, leaving only one hundred and fifty men to defend it in case of an attack. Being attacked, the small garrison fled, and the whole of their provisions and stores fell into the hands of the enemy. All this was discouraging enough; but, what was worse, they were not agreed among themselves, nor was the country agreed to take part with them. The suffering presbyterians would have nothing to do with Argyle, with whom they were highly offended, for the part he had hitherto acted, and the declaration he emitted did not give them great hopes of that which was yet to come. In short, it was soon evident that they would be obliged to separate, and every man shift for himself in the best manner he could. Disappointed in the Highlands, it was proposed to try the Lowlands; but they had wandered in the Highlands till the government forces, under Athol, Gordon, and Dumbarton, had cut off their communication with the disaffected parts of the country, and even cut them off from the possibility of escape. It was at last, however, resolved, that they should march upon Glasgow; and they crossed the water of Leven three miles above Dumbarton, on the night of the 16th of June. Marching next morning towards Kilmaronock, in the hope of finding some provisions, of which they were in absolute want, they discovered a party of horse, and stood to their arms, but the party they had observed being only a small body of horsemen not sufficiently strong to attack them, they passed on. On setting their watch the same night, they were alarmed again by a party of the king's forces. Attempting a night-march to Glasgow, they wandered into a moss, where they were so broken and scattered that, in the morning, there were not above five hundred of them together.

All hope of success was now over. Sir John Cochrane and Sir Patrick Hume crossed the Clyde, with about one hundred and fifty men; and Argyle refusing to follow them, they marched to Muirdyke, where they were attacked by lord Ross, whom they repulsed in a very gallant manner, but were under the necessity of separating shortly after. Argyle, thus left to himself, despatched Sir Duncan Campbell and two Duncansons, father and son, to his own country, to attempt raising new levies; and repaired himself to the house of an old servant, where he calculated upon a temporary asylum, but was peremptorily denied entrance. In consequence of this he crossed the Clyde, attended only by one companion. At the ford of Inchinnan they were stopped by a party of militia men. Fullarton, the name of Argyle's companion, used every means he could think of to save his general, who was habited as a plain country man, and whom he passed for his guide. Seeing them determined to go after his guide, as he

called him, he offered to surrender without a blow, provided they did not hurt the poor man who was conducting him. These terms they accepted, but did not adhere to; two of their number going after Argyle, who being on horseback, grappled with them, till one of them and himself came to the ground. He then presented his pocket pistol, when the two retired, but other five coming up, knocked him down with their swords, and seized him. When they found who it was they had made prisoner, they were exceedingly sorry, but they durst not let him go. Fullarton, perceiving the stipulation on which he had surrendered broken, snatched at the sword of one of them in order to take vengeance upon his perfidious opponents, but, failing in his attempt, he too was overpowered and made prisoner. Renfrew was the first place that was honoured with the presence of this noble captive; whence, on the 20th of June, he was led in triumph into Edinburgh. The order of the council was particular and peremptory, that he should be led bareheaded in the midst of Graham's guards with their matches cocked, with his hands tied behind his back, and preceded by the common hangman; and that he might be more exposed to those insults which the unfeeling vulgar are ever ready to heap upon the unfortunate, it was specially directed that he should be led to the castle, which was to be the place of his confinement, by a circuitous route. All this, however, while it manifested the native baseness of the Scottish rulers and the engrained malevolence of their hearts, only served to display more strongly the heroic dignity, the meekness, the patience, and the unconquerable fortitude which animated the bosom of their unfortunate victim; and it tended in no small degree to hasten that catastrophe which all this studied severity was intended to avert. The Scottish parliament, on the 11th of June, sent an address to the king; wherein, after commending his majesty in their usual manner for his immeasurable gifts of prudence, courage, and conduct; and loading Argyle, whom they style an hereditary traitor, with every species of abuse, and with every crime, particularly that of ingratitude for the favours which he had received, as well from his majesty as from his predecessor; they implore his majesty to show him no favour; and that his family, the heritors, the preachers, &c. who have joined him, may for ever be declared incapable of mercy, or of bearing any honour or estate in the kingdom; and all subjects discharged, under the pains of treason, to intercede for them in any manner of way. Accordingly, the following letter, with the royal signature, and countersigned by lord Milford, secretary of state for Scotland, was despatched to the council at Edinburgh, and by them entered and registered on the 29th of June. "Whereas, the late earl of Argyle is, by the providence of God, fallen into our power, it is our will and pleasure, that you take *all ways* to know from him those things which concern our government most; as, his assisters with men, arms, and money,—his associates and correspondents,—his designs, &c. but this must be done so as no time may be lost in bringing him to condign punishment, by causing him to be denounced as a traitor within the space of three days, after this shall come to your hands, an account of which, with what he shall confess, you shall send immediately to our secretaries, for which shall be your warrant." James, who, while he was viceroy in Scotland, attended the infliction of torture upon the unhappy victims of his tyranny, and frequently called for an other touch, watching, at the same time, the unhappy victim with the eager curiosity of a philosophical experimenter, evidently, by this letter, intended that it should have been applied to Argyle. "It is our will and pleasure, that you take all ways to know from him, &c." seems positively to enjoin it; and when we reflect that torture was at the time in common use, and that the men to whom this order was addressed were in the habit of practising it, we might almost say, every day, it is somewhat of a mystery how he escaped it. Certain

it is, however, that he did escape it, but how will, in all probability, never be known. That he did not escape it by any undue disclosures, is equally certain. That they had received such orders he was told, and of their readiness to obey them, he had too many proofs; yet, when examined in private by Queensberry, he gave no information with respect to his associates in England; he also denied that he had concerted his design with any persons in Scotland; but he avowed boldly, and with the utmost frankness, that his hopes of success were founded on the cruelty of the administration, and such a disposition in the people to revolt as he conceived to be the natural consequence of oppression. He owned, at the same time, that he had laid too much weight upon this principle. Writing, too, to a friend, just before his examination, he has these words: "What may have been discovered from any paper that may have been taken, he knows not. Otherwise, he has named none to their disadvantage." Perhaps it was to atone for their neglect with regard to the torture, that the council ordered his execution on the very next day, although they had three to choose upon; and, to make the triumph of injustice complete, it was ordered upon the iniquitous sentence of 1682. The warning was short, but it must have been, in some degree, anticipated; and he received it with the most perfect composure. He possessed a faith full of assurance that triumphed over all his afflictions, and a hope that breathed immortality.

The morning of his execution was spent in religious exercises, and in writing short notices to friends. He had his dinner before he left the castle, at the usual hour, at which he discoursed with those that were along with Mr Charteris and others, with cheerful and becoming gravity. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bedchamber, where it is recorded he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed, one of the members of the council came, and wished to speak with him. Being told that the earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, he seemed to think that it was only a shift to avoid further questionings, and the door being thrown open, he beheld, in a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man who, by the doom of himself and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours. Struck with the sight, he left the castle with the utmost precipitation; and entering the house of a friend that lived near by, threw himself on the first bed that presented itself. His friend naturally concluding that he was ill, offered him some wine, which he refused, saying, "No, no, that will not help me—I have been at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever man did, but as for me—." The name of the person to whom this anecdote relates is not mentioned, but Wodrow says he had it from the most unquestionable authority. After his short repose, he was brought to the high council-house, from which is dated the letter to his wife, and thence to the place of execution. On the scaffold he discoursed with Mr Annand, a minister appointed by the government to attend him, and with Mr Charteris, both of whom he desired to pray for him. He then prayed himself with great fervency. The speech which he made was every way worthy of his character—full of fortitude, mildness, and charity. He offered his prayers to God for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that an end might be speedily put to their present trials. Having then asked pardon for his own failings, both of God and man, he would have concluded, but being reminded that he had said nothing of the royal family, he prayed that there never might be wanting one in it to support the protestant religion; and if any of them had swerved from the true faith, he prayed that God might turn their hearts, but at any rate to save his people from their machinations. Turning round he said, Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstrue my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God. Mr Annand

said, this gentleman dies a protestant ; when he stepped forward and said, I die not only a protestant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever. He then embraced his friends, gave some tokens of remembrance to his son-in-law, lord Maitland, for his daughter and grand-children, stripped himself of part of his apparel, of which he likewise made presents, and laying his head upon the block, repeated thrice, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, when he gave the signal, and his head was severed from his body. Thus died Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyle, on the 30th of June, 1685, of whom it has been said, " Let him be weighed never so scrupulously, and in the nicest scales, he will not be found in a single instance wanting in the charity of a Christian, the firmness and benevolence of a patriot, nor the integrity and fidelity of a man of honour."

CAMPBELL, Dr GEORGE, an eminent theological writer, was born on Christmas day, 1719. His father was the Rev. Colin Campbell, one of the ministers of Aberdeen ; a man whose simplicity and integrity of character were well known throughout the country, and the cause of his being held in general esteem. While the theological sentiments of this respectable person were perfectly orthodox, his style of preaching was very peculiar : it no doubt partook of the fashion of the times, but he seems to have also had a singular taste of his own. Dr Campbell frequently spoke of his father ; and though his connection with so excellent a man afforded him great pleasure, he sometimes amused himself and his friends by repeating anecdotes respecting the oddity of his conceits in preaching. He delighted much in making the heads and particulars of his discourses begin with the same letter of the alphabet. Some very curious examples were in the possession of his son, which he related with great good humour, and which no one enjoyed more than himself. He had followed the fortunes, and adhered to the principles of the Argyle family. He was therefore a decided whig, and was very active in promoting, in 1715, among his parishioners, the cause of the Hanoverian succession, and in opposing the powerful interest of the numerous tory families in Aberdeen. This worthy man died suddenly, on the 27th of August, 1728, leaving a widow, with three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest of the sons.

The grammar school of Aberdeen has long maintained a high rank among the Scottish seminaries ; and it now enjoyed more than its usual reputation from the connection of Mr Alexander Malcolm, the author of by far the most extensive and philosophical system of arithmetic in the English language, besides an excellent treatise on Music. Such a man produces a strong sensation, wherever the sphere of his exertions happens to be, but in a provincial town like Aberdeen, where almost all the youth are his pupils, the impression he makes is naturally much greater. George Campbell, though said to have been a lively and idle, rather than a studious boy, made a respectable appearance in this school. He was afterwards enrolled a member of Marischal college, and went through the common course. A senior brother, whose name was Colin, had been devoted to the church, and George therefore proposed to study law. He was bound apprentice to Mr Stronach, W. S., Edinburgh, and regularly served the stipulated time. But he does not seem to have entered upon this line of life with any ardour. Before he had finished his apprenticeship, his resolutions were fixed for another profession, and, in 1741, he attended the prelections of professor Goldie, who then held the theological chair in the Edinburgh university. The celebrated Dr Blair began, about this time, as minister of the Canongate, to attract public attention by his discourses ; and Campbell became a devoted admirer of the style of that great divine, with whom he, at the same time, formed an intimate personal friendship.

At the conclusion of his apprenticeship, Mr Campbell returned to Aberdeen, and concluded his education as a clergyman in the divinity halls of that university. His superior intellect was now marked among his fellows, and he became the leader of a disputing society which was instituted by them in 1742, under the name of the *Theological Club*. Being licensed in 1746, he soon attracted attention by his discourses; yet in 1747, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the church of Fordoun, in the Mearns. When his reputation had acquired more consistency, he was presented to the church of Banchory Ternan, a few miles from Aberdeen, under circumstances of a somewhat extraordinary nature. Neither the patron nor those who recommended Campbell, were aware of his Christian name. It therefore happened that Colin, his elder brother, a man of great worth, but comparatively slender abilities, was applied to, and invited to preach at Banchory, as a prelude to his obtaining the living. Colin's public exhibitions did not equal the expectations which had been formed; and, in the course of conversation, the sagacity of the patron, Sir Alexander Burnett, discovered that it was his brother whose recommendations had been so ample. George Campbell was afterwards invited, and the satisfaction which he gave insured success, for he was ordained minister of that parish, June 2, 1746. He was not long in this situation when he married a young lady of the name of Farquharson.

Though Mr Campbell did not, at this early period of his life, give token of that power of intense application which he manifested in his later years, it is supposed that he formed, in the solitude of Banchory, the original ideas of all his great works. He here composed the most important parts of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. This admirable and truly classical work, in which the laws of elegant composition and just criticism are laid down with singular taste and perspicuity, originally formed a series of detached essays, and contains, with a few exceptions, the outlines of all the works he ever published. At this time also he began his great work, the *Translation of the Gospels*; though it is probable that he did not make much progress until his professional duties directed his attention more forcibly to the same subject. His character as a country clergyman was established in a very short time. The amiable simplicity of his manners, the integrity and propriety of his behaviour, conjoined with his extensive knowledge, and the general esteem in which he was held by literary men, very soon brought him into notice. He was consequently induced to relinquish his charge in the country, and comply with the invitation of the magistrates of Aberdeen, and take charge of one of the *quarters* of that city. Here he derived great advantage from the society of literary men, and the opportunity of consulting public libraries. Mr Campbell joined the Literary Society of Aberdeen, which had been formed in the year 1758, and which comprehended many men afterwards eminent in literature and philosophy. The subjects discussed in this association were not confined to those coming strictly within the category of the *belles lettres*; all the different branches of philosophy were included in its comprehensive range. Campbell took a very active part in the business of the society, and delivered in it the greater part of his "*Philosophy of Rhetoric*."

<sup>1</sup> When Mr Alexander Fraser Tytler (afterwards Lord Woodhouselee) published his "*Essay on the Principles of Translation*," a correspondence ensued betwixt him and Dr Campbell, in consequence of the latter asserting that many of the ideas contained in the *Essay* had been appropriated without acknowledgment from his "*Translation of the Gospels*," published a short time previously. It was, however, satisfactorily established by Mr Tytler, that the supposed plagiarism was in reality the result of coincidence of opinion. Of this the doctor became thoroughly satisfied, and a warm friendship grew up between the parties.

Principal Pollock of Marischal College died in 1759, and it was supposed at the time that the chance of succeeding him was confined to two gentlemen possessed of all the local influence which in such cases generally insures success. Mr Campbell, who was ambitious of obtaining the situation, resolved to lay his pretensions before the duke of Argyle, who, for many years, had dispensed the government patronage of Scotland. It happened that one of Mr Campbell's ancestors, his grandfather or great-grandfather, had held the basket into which the marquis of Argyle's head fell when he was beheaded. Mr Campbell hinted at this in the letter he addressed to his grace; and the result was his appointment to the vacant place. This anecdote, we need scarcely remind the reader, has been lately used in fictitious history.

Shortly after this Mr Campbell received the degree of doctor of divinity from King's College, Aberdeen; and, in 1763, he published his celebrated "Treatise on Miracles," in answer to what was advanced on that subject by David Hume; a work which has been justly characterised as one of the most acute and convincing treatises that has ever appeared upon the subject.

A condensed view of the respective arguments of these two philosophers, on one of the most interesting points connected with revealed religion, is thus given by the ingenious William Smellie, in the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article *ABRIDGMENT*:—

Mr Hume argues, "That experience, which, in some things is variable, in others uniform, is our *only* guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact. A variable experience gives rise to probability only; a uniform experience amounts to a proof. Our belief of any fact from the testimony of eye-witnesses is derived from no other principle than our experience in the veracity of human testimony. If the fact attested be miraculous, here arises a contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof. Now, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined; and, if so, it is an undeniable consequence, that it cannot be surmounted by any proof whatever derived from human testimony.

Dr Campbell, in his answer, aims at showing the fallacy of Mr Hume's argument by another single position. He argues, "That the evidence arising from human testimony is not solely derived from experience; on the contrary, testimony hath a natural influence on belief, antecedent to experience. The early and unlimited assent given to testimony by children gradually contracts as they advance in life: it is, therefore, more consonant to truth, to say, that our *diffidence* in testimony is the result of experience, than that our faith in it has this foundation. Besides, the uniformity of experience, in favour of any fact, is not a proof against its being reversed in a particular instance. The evidence arising from the single testimony of a man of known veracity will go far to establish a belief in its being actually reversed: If his testimony be confirmed by a few others of the same character, we cannot withhold our assent to the truth of it. Now, though the operations of nature are governed by uniform laws, and though we have not the testimony of our senses in favour of any violation of them, still, if, in particular instances, we have the testimony of thousands of our fellow-creatures, and those, too, men of strict integrity, swayed by no motives of ambition or interest, and governed by the principles of common sense, That they were actual eye-witnesses of these violations, the constitution of our nature obliges us to believe them."

Dr Campbell's essay was speedily translated into the French, Dutch, and German languages.

The activity and application of Dr Campbell received an impulse in 1771, from his being appointed professor of divinity in Marischal college, in place of Dr Alexander Gerard, who had removed to the corresponding chair in King's. These two eminent men had been colleagues, and preached alternately in the same church. They were now pitted against each other in a higher walk, and there can be no doubt, that, as the same students attended both, a considerable degree of emulation was excited betwixt them. Gerard was perfectly sensible of the talents of his new rival. His friends had taken the freedom of hinting to him that he had now some reason to look to his laurels; in answer to which he remarked carelessly, that Dr Campbell was indolent. An unfortunate misunderstanding had existed between these two excellent men for many years: it was now widened by the report of Gerard's trivial remark, which some busy person carried to Dr Campbell's ears, probably in an exaggerated shape. This circumstance is said, however, to have had the beneficial effect of stimulating Dr Campbell's exertions. The manner in which he discharged his duties was most exemplary; and the specimens which he has given in his Preliminary Dissertations to the Translation of the Gospels, in his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, and on Theology, afford abundant proofs of his high qualifications as a public lecturer. It will be at the same time observed, from the list of his works, immediately to be submitted, that the vacations of his professional labours were most sedulously employed for the advantage of the public and posterity.

Dr Campbell appears to us to have been one of the most splendidly gifted men that appeared during the course of the last century. His body was remarkably feeble; his stature greatly below that of ordinary men in this country. His health was extremely delicate, and required for the long period of three-score years and ten the utmost care and attention. Yet his powers of application were above those of most men, and, what is strange, were exemplified chiefly in his later and feebler years. He was a man of the utmost simplicity of manners and *naïveté* of character, and remarkably pleasant in conversation. The works which he has published prove, in the most indisputable manner, that he was possessed of true philosophical genius. His powers of abstraction appear to have been greater than those of most men of ancient or modern times. The study of languages was employed by him to the best advantage; and the accuracy of his disquisitions throws a light upon the nature of the human mind, while it discovers a habit of attention to the actings of his own mind, which has certainly not been surpassed by any of those who have cultivated the science of morals.

As a minister of religion, he was no less eminent than in any other situation which he ever filled. He was esteemed by his hearers as an excellent lecturer; but his lectures were perhaps a little superior to his ordinary sermons. As the head of his college, he appeared to the greatest advantage,—unassuming, mild, and disposed to show the greatest kindness and tenderness to those who were his inferiors, both in regard to rank or to literary reputation. As professor of divinity, his fame was unrivalled. Many of his pupils have expressed in the warmest language the pleasure they derived from his prelections. There was a peculiar unction in his manner which charmed every one. He encouraged those whom he conceived to be diffident, and equally discountenanced those who appeared to him to be forward or conceited. In church courts he never aimed at shining; but he was sometimes roused to great extemporaneous exertion in that field, and it was remarked that his replies were generally better than his introductory speeches. He was a zealous advocate for liberty of conscience, and lent all his influence to his friend principal Robertson respecting



the popish bill. His preponderance in the town of Aberdeen was never great in public questions; and indeed he never aimed at such an object: but in private society, he was always esteemed the life of the company, and never failed to make a strong impression.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Campbell died, April 6, 1796, in the 77th year of his age.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, duke of Argyle and Greenwich, a distinguished soldier and statesman, was the son of Archibald, first duke of Argyle, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmes of Helmingham, by Elizabeth, afterwards duchess of Lauderdale, daughter of William Murray, earl of Dysart. His grace was born, October 10, 1678; and on the day in which his grandfather, Archibald, earl of Argyle, fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of James VII., (some say at the very moment of his execution), the subject of this narrative, being then in his seventh year, fell from a window in the third story of the house of Dunybrissel, then possessed by his aunt, the countess of Murray, and, to the astonishment of the whole household, was taken up without having suffered any material injury; a circumstance which his relatives and friends considered as indicating not only future greatness, but that he was destined to restore the lustre of the house of Argyle, which at that moment was under a melancholy eclipse. The care of his education was confided to a licentiate of the Scottish church, named Walter Campbell, who, for his diligence, was afterwards rewarded by the family with a presentation to the parish of Dunoon. Under this gentleman he studied the classics, and some branches of philosophy. But he was distinguished by a restless activity, rather than a fondness for study, and his father, anxious to place him in a situation where he might have it in his power to retrieve the fortunes of the family, took an early opportunity of presenting him to king William, who, in 1694, bestowed upon the young nobleman the command of a regiment, he being yet in his sixteenth year. In this situation he continued till the death of his father in the month of December, 1703, when, succeeding to the dukedom, he was sworn of his majesty's privy council, and appointed captain of the Scots horse guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of session. In 1704, the order of the thistle being revived in Scotland, his grace was installed one of the knights, which dignity he subsequently exchanged for the order of the garter.

In 1705, being exceedingly popular among his countrymen, the duke of Argyle was appointed her majesty's high commissioner to the Scottish parliament, in order to prepare the way for the treaty of union, which her majesty, queen Anne, in concert with her English counsellors, had now determined to carry into effect. For his services in this parliament, he was created an English peer, by the titles of baron of Chatham and earl of Greenwich. His grace, after this, served four campaigns in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was honourably distinguished in the battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, in the last of which he narrowly escaped, having a number of balls shot through his coat, hat, and periwig. He was also employed at the sieges of Ostend, Menin, Lisle, Ghent, and Tournay.

On the change of ministry in 1710, Argyle veered with the wind of the

<sup>1</sup> The following is a list of his writings:—1. The Character of a Minister as a Teacher and Pattern.—2. Dissertation on Miracles.—3. The Spirit of the Gospel.—4. The Philosophy of Rhetoric.—5. The Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Duty of Allegiance.—6. The Success of the First Publishers of the Gospel, a Proof of its Truth.—7. Address to the People of Scotland, on the Alarms raised by the Bill in Favour of the Roman Catholics.—8. The Happy Influence of Religion on Civil Society.—9. Translation of the Gospels, with Preliminary Dissertations and Explanatory Notes.—10. Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.—11. Lectures on Theology.

court, and having become a declaimer against the duke of Marlborough, was by the tories appointed generalissimo in Spain, where there were great complaints of mismanagement on the part of the former ministry, and where it was now proposed to carry on the war with more than ordinary vigour. Here, however, his grace was completely overreached, the ministry having no intention of carrying on the war any where. On his arrival in Spain, he found the army in a state of perfect disorganization, without pay and without necessaries, and though the parliament had voted a large sum for its subsistence, not one farthing was sent to him. He was under the necessity of raising money upon his plate and personal credit for its immediate wants, and in a short time returned to England, having accomplished nothing. This treatment, with a report that a design had been laid to take him off by poison while he was on his ill-fated journey, and, above all, the superior influence of the earl of Mar, who, as well as himself, aspired to the sole administration of Scottish affairs, totally alienated him from his new friends, the tories. He became again a leading whig, and a violent declaimer for the protestant succession, in consequence of which he was deprived of all his employments. His grace had been a principal agent in accomplishing the union, by which his popularity was considerably injured among the lower orders of his countrymen; this he now dexterously retrieved, by joining with Mar and his Jacobite associates at court, for the dissolving of that treaty which he now pretended had completely disappointed his expectations. A motion for this end was accordingly made in the house of lords on the first of June, 1713, by the earl of Seafield, who also had been one of the most forward of the original supporters of the measure. The motion was seconded by the earl of Mar, and urged by Argyle with all the force of his eloquence. One of his principal arguments, however, being the security of the protestant succession, he was led to speak of the pretender, which he did with so much acrimony, that several of the high Jacobites fled the house without waiting for the vote. This was the means of disappointing the project, which otherwise had most certainly been carried, it having been lost after all by no more than four voices.

On the illness of the queen in the following year, the zeal of his grace for the protestant succession was most conspicuous, as well as most happy. Nobody at the time entertained any doubt that Bolingbroke and his party had an intention at least to attempt the pretender's restoration on the death of the queen; and to prevent any undue advantages being taken of circumstances, Argyle no sooner was apprized of her dangerous situation, than, along with the duke of Somerset, he repaired to the council-board, and prevailed to have all the privy counsellors in and about London, without any exceptions, summoned to attend, which, with the sudden death of the queen, so completely disconcerted the tories, that, for the time, there was not the smallest manifestation of one discordant feeling. The queen was no sooner dead, than the seven lords who had by a previous act of parliament been appointed to the regency, together with sixteen additional personages nominated by the heir apparent, in virtue of the same act of parliament, proclaimed the elector of Hanover king of Great Britain. They at the same time took every precaution for preserving tranquillity, and preparing for his majesty's being peacefully and honourably received on his arrival. The services of Argyle on this occasion were not overlooked: he was made groom of the stole to the prince, while his majesty had advanced no further than Greenwich, and two days after was appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces for Scotland.

Though by this strange combination of circumstances, viz. the sudden demise of the queen, the disunion of the Jacobites, with the prompt decision of the

whigs, among whom the subject of this memoir was a most efficient leader, the accession of the new dynasty was to all appearance easy and peaceable, the baffled faction very soon rallied their forces and returned to the charge with an energy and a perseverance worthy of a better cause. The cry of "Church in danger" was again raised, and for some weeks England was one scene of universal riot. Many places of worship belonging to dissenters were thrown down, and in several places most atrocious murders were committed. Through the energy of the government, however, open insurrection was for a while prevented, and tranquillity in some measure restored. Still the activity of the Pretender at foreign courts, and the restlessness of his adherents at home, created strong suspicions that an invasion on his behalf was intended, and every preparation that could be thought of was taken to defeat it. A number of new regiments were raised, officers of doubtful character were displaced, suspected persons taken into custody, and lords-lieutenant, with the necessary powers, every where appointed. In the meantime Scotland, where the friends of the exiled family were proportionally much more numerous than in England, was by a strange fatality neglected. In the southern and western shires, through the influence of the Hanoverian club, at the head of which was the earl of Buchan, the attention of the people had been awakened, and right feeling to a considerable extent excited; yet even there Jacobitism was not a rare thing, and in the north, through the influence of the earl of Mar, it was altogether triumphant. That nobleman, indeed, had cajoled into his views almost all the clans, at the head of whom, to the amount of twelve thousand men, he had taken possession of Perth, and was ready to seize upon the fords of the Forth before the government had observed his manœuvres, or taken any proper precautions to counteract them. Sensible at last of the danger, they proclaimed the law for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, summoned a long list of suspected persons to deliver themselves up to the public functionaries, and, to call forth those supplies of men and money which they had hitherto shown a disposition to forbid rather than to encourage, sent down the duke of Argyle, who had already been constituted commander-in-chief of the forces, with all the necessary powers for that purpose. His grace arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of September, 1715, where his first care was to inspect the garrison, the fortifications, and the magazines, from the last of which he ordered thirty cart loads of arms and ammunition to be sent to Glasgow and Stirling for the use of the inhabitants. He then proceeded to review the army which had been assembled at Stirling, general Wightman having there formed a camp of all the disposable forces in Scotland, which fell short of two thousand men, a number altogether inadequate to the arduous duties they had to perform. The first care of his grace was, of course, to augment the forces by every possible means; for which end he wrote to the magistrates of Glasgow, and through them to all the well affected in the west of Scotland, to forward such troops as they might have in readiness without loss of time, and to have as many more provided against a sudden emergency as possible. Glasgow, which had been in expectation of such a catastrophe for a considerable time, immediately forwarded to Stirling upwards of seven hundred men well equipped, under the command of provost Aird, with whom they joined colonel John Blackadder, governor of Stirling castle. These seven hundred were instantly replaced at Glasgow by detachments from Kilmarnock, Irvine, Greenock, and Paisley, where, with the exception of detachments sent out to garrison the houses of Drummakill, Gartartan, and Cardross, they were allowed to remain for the convenience of provisions, which were rather scarce at Stirling. He also ordered levies to fill up every company in the regular regiments to fifty men, and to add two fresh companies to each regiment. But though he offered

a strictly limited term of service, and a liberal bounty for that period (two pounds sterling for each man), he does not appear to have been successful in adding to his numbers. Nor, with all his earnestness of application, could he prevail on the government to spare him from England, where troops were plentiful, a single man. One regiment of dragoons and two of foot from Ireland was the utmost he could obtain, which, till he should be able to ascertain the intentions of the earl of Mar, were also stationed at Glasgow. While Argyle was thus struggling with difficulties, and completely hampered in all his operations, Mar had greater means than he had genius to employ, and could, without any exertion, keep his opponent in perpetual alarm. He had already, by a stratagem, nearly possessed himself of the castle of Edinburgh, ere the magistrates of that city were aware of his being in arms. A detachment from his army, by a night march, descended upon Burntisland, where a vessel loaded with arms for the earl of Sutherland, had been driven in by stress of weather. This vessel they boarded, carrying off the arms, with as many more as could be found in the town. A still bolder project was about the same time attempted in the north-west, where a numerous party of the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, under the orders of general Gordon, attempted to surprise the garrison of Inverloch. They were, however, repulsed, after having made themselves masters of two redoubts and taken twenty men. They then turned south upon Argyleshire for the purpose of raising men, and general Gordon, who had the reputation of an excellent officer, threatened to fall down upon Dumbarton and Glasgow. This was another source of distraction to Argyle, whose small army could not well admit of being divided. Gordon, however, met with little encouragement in the way of recruiting, and after alarming Inverary, where the duke had stationed his brother, lord Ilay, dropped quietly into Mar's camp at Perth, where nearly the whole strength of the rebels was now concentrated.

Though Argyle was thus circumscribed in his means, he displayed ceaseless activity and considerable address in the application of them, and the great reputation he had acquired under Marlborough, rendered him, even with his scanty means, formidable to his opponent, who was altogether a novice in the art military. One talent of a great general too his grace possessed in considerable perfection, that of finding out the plans and secret purposes of his adversary, of all whose movements he had generally early and complete intelligence; Mar, on the contrary, could procure no intelligence whatever. He knew that a simultaneous rising was to take place under Thomas Foster of Etherstane, member of parliament for the county of Northumberland, and another in Nithsdale under viscount Kenmure; but how they were succeeding, or to what their attention had been more immediately directed, he was utterly ignorant. To ascertain these points, to stimulate his friends in their progress, and to open up for himself an easier passage to the south, he detached two thousand five hundred of his best troops under the laird of Borlunn, the bravest and the most experienced officer perhaps in his whole army. This detachment was to force its way across the Firth below Edinburgh, and through the Lothians by the way of Kelso till it should find Kenmure or Foster upon the English border. This romantic project the old brigadier, as he was called in the army, accomplished with great facility, one boat with forty men being all that in crossing the Firth fell into the hands of the enemy. A few with the earl of Strathmore were cut off from the rest, but made their escape into the isle of May, whence in a day or two they found their way back to Perth. The principal part of the expedition, consisting nearly of two thousand men, landed between Tantalou, North Berwick and Aberlady, and for the first night quartered in Haddington. Early next morning, the 13th of October, the whole body marched directly for

Edinburgh. This threw the citizens into the utmost consternation, and an express was sent off directly to Stirling for troops to protect the city. Two hundred infantry mounted upon country horses and three hundred cavalry arrived the same evening; but had Borlum persisted in his original design, they had certainly come too late. On his arriving, however, within a mile of the city, and meeting with none of the citizens, a deputation of whom he had expected to invoke his aid, and perhaps secretly dreading the movements of Argyle, Borlum turned aside to Leith, which he entered, as he would in all probability have entered Edinburgh, without the smallest opposition. Here the insurgents found and liberated their forty companions who had been taken the previous day in crossing the Firth. They also seized upon the Custom-house, where they found considerable quantities of meal, beef, and brandy, which they at once appropriated to their own use, and possessing themselves of the citadel, with such materials as they found in the harbour, they fortified it in the best manner they could for their security through the night. Next morning Argyle, with his three hundred cavalry, two hundred infantry, and a few militia, marched against Borlum, accompanied by generals Evans and Wightman, giving him a summons under pain of treason to surrender, adding that if he waited for an attack, he should have no quarter. The laird of Kynnachin, who was spokesman for the rebels, haughtily replied, that the word surrender they did not understand, quarter they would neither take nor give, and his grace was welcome to force their position if he could. Sensible that without artillery no attack could be made upon the place, barricaded as it was, with any prospect of success, the duke withdrew to prepare the means of more efficient warfare, and Borlum, disappointed in his views upon Edinburgh, and perhaps not at all anxious for a second interview with the king's troops, took the advantage of an ebb tide and a very dark night, to abandon his position, marching round the pier by the sands for Seaton house, the seat of the earl of Winton, who was in the south with Kenmure and his associated rebels. This place, after sundry accidents, they reached in safety about two o'clock in the morning. Here they were joined by a number of their companions, who having crossed the Firth farther down were unable to come up with them on the preceding day. Forty of their men, who had made too free with the custom-house brandy, some stragglers who had fallen behind on the march, with a small quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of a detachment of the king's troops. Argyle, in the meantime, aware of the strength of Seaton house, sent off an express to Stirling for cannon to dislodge its new possessors, when he was informed that Mar was on his march to force the passage of the Forth. This compelled him to hasten to Stirling, where he found that Mar had actually commenced his march, and had himself come as far south as Dunblane, whence hearing of the arrival of the duke, he returned to Perth, having attained his object, which was only a safe retreat for his friends from Seaton house.

On his sudden departure for Stirling, Argyle left the city of Edinburgh and Seaton house to the care of general Wightman and colonel Ker, with a few regular troops and the neighbouring militia. Finding Seaton impregnable to any force they could bring against it, they retired from it, to save themselves the disgrace of making an unsuccessful attack. Borlum finding himself unmolested, and in a country where he could command with ease all kinds of provision, proposed nothing less than to establish there a general magazine for the pretender, and to enlist an army from among the Jacobites of Edinburgh and the adjacent country; but before he left the citadel of Leith, he despatched a boat with intelligence to Mar; and, firing after her, the king's ships took her for one of their own boats, and allowed her to pass without molestation. In

consequence of this notice, Mar had made a feint to cross the Forth, merely to allow him to escape, and now he had an answer at Seaton house, with express orders to proceed south, and to put himself under the orders of Kenmure or Foster, without a moment's delay. He accordingly proceeded next day towards Kelso, where he met with Foster and Kenmure on the 22d of October, when, after all the desertion they had experienced by the way, which was very considerable, the whole formed an army of fourteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse. Here they were threatened with an attack from general Carpenter, who was within a day's march of them, and became violently divided in opinion respecting the course they ought to pursue. Foster and his Northumbrian friends were anxious to transfer the scene of their operations to England, where they promised themselves a prodigious increase of numbers. The Highlanders, on the contrary, were anxious to return and join the clans, taking the towns of Dumfries and Glasgow in their way. The contention was so hot that it had almost come to blows, and it ended in five hundred Highlanders adopting the latter plan, who, separating from their companions, and taking their route for the heads of the Forth, were either famished, killed, or taken prisoners by the way. The remainder followed the former, and proceeded as far as Preston, where on the 13th of November, the very day on which the main armies met on the Sheriff-muir, they were all made prisoners and delivered over, some to the executioner, and the remainder to be slaves in the plantations.

Argyle all this while continued at Stirling, and Mar at Perth, carrying on an insignificant war of manifestoes, equally unprofitable to both parties; and perhaps equally harassing to the country. On the 23d of October, however, the duke, having learned that a detachment of rebels was passing by castle Campbell, towards Dunfermline, sent out a body of cavalry, which came up with the party, and defeated it, taking a number of gentlemen prisoners, with the trifling damage of one dragoon wounded in the cheek, and one horse slightly hurt. Nothing further occurred between the armies till Mar, finding that without action it would be impossible to keep his army together, called a council of all the chiefs on the 9th of November, in which it was resolved to cross the Forth without loss of time. Nor could this be, one would have supposed, to them any thing like a difficult undertaking. After having disposed of three thousand men in the different garrisons along the coast of Fife, they had still twelve thousand effective troops for the attack, which they proposed should be made in the following manner.—First, with one division of one thousand men to attempt the bridge of Stirling—with a second of an equal number the Abbey Ford, a mile below the bridge—with a third of an equal number, the ford called the Drip Coble, a mile and a half above the bridge. These three attacks, they supposed, would amply occupy the duke's whole army, which did not exceed three thousand men, and, in the meantime, with their main body, consisting of nine thousand men, they intended to cross the river still higher up, and push directly for England, leaving the other three divisions after having disposed of the duke, to follow at their leisure. Argyle, however, having acquainted himself, by means of his spies, with the plan, took his measures accordingly. Aware that if he waited for the attack on the Forth, he would, from the nature of the ground, be deprived of the use of his cavalry, upon which he placed his principal dependence, he determined to take up a position in advance of that river, and for this purpose, having appointed the earl of Buchan with the Stirlingshire militia, and the Glasgow regiment to guard the town of Stirling, commenced his march to the north on the morning of Saturday the 12th of November, and

in the afternoon encamped on a rising ground, having on his right the Sheriff-muir, and on his left the town of Dunblane.

Mar, having committed the town of Perth to the care of colonel Balfour, on the 10th had come as far south as Auchterarder, with an effective force of ten thousand five hundred men, the cavalry in his army being nearly equal to Argyle's whole force. The 11th he devoted to resting the troops, fixing the order of battle, &c., and on the 12th, general Gordon, with eight squadrons of horse, and all the clans, was ordered to occupy Dunblane. The remainder of the rebel army had orders to parade early in the morning on the muir of Tullibardine, and thence to follow general Gordon. This part of the army, which was under the command of general Hamilton, had scarcely begun to move, when an express came to the general that the royal troops had already occupied Dunblane in great force. On this the general halted, and drew up his men in the order of battle on the site of the Roman camp, near Ardoch. Mar himself, who had gone to Drummond castle, being informed of the circumstance, came up with all speed, and nothing further having been heard from general Gordon, the whole was supposed to be a false alarm. The troops, however, were ordered to be in readiness, and the discharge of three cannons was to be the signal for the approach of the enemy. Scarcely had these orders been issued, when an express from general Gordon informed the earl of Mar that Argyle had occupied Dunblane with his whole force. The signal guns were of course fired, and the rebel army, formed in order of battle on the muir of Kinbuck, lay under arms during the night.

The duke of Argyle, having certain intelligence before he left Stirling of Mar's movements, was perfectly aware, that before his army had finished its encampment the watch guns of the rebels would be heard, disposed every thing exactly in the order in which he intended to make his attack next morning; of course no tent was pitched, and officers and men, without distinction, lay under arms during the night, which was uncommonly severe. The duke alone sat under cover of a sheep cote at the foot of the hill. Every thing being ready for the attack, his grace, early in the morning of Monday, the 13th, rode to the top of the hill, where his advanced guard was posted, to reconnoitre the rebels' army, which, though it had suffered much from desertion the two preceding days, was still upwards of nine thousand men, disposed in the following order—Ten battalions of foot, comprising the clans commanded by Clanronald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, and Campbell of Glenlyon. On their right were three squadrons of horse; the Stirling, which carried the standard of the pretender, and two of the marquis of Huntley's; on their left were the Fifeshire and Perthshire squadrons. Their second line consisted of three battalions of Seaforth's, two of Huntley's, those of Panmure, Tullibardine, lord Drummond, and Strowan, commanded by their respective chieftains, Drummond's excepted, which was commanded by Strathallan and Logie Almond. On the right of this line were Marischal's dragoons, and on their left those of Angus. Of the left of their army his grace had a tolerable view, but a hollow concealed their right, and, being masters of the brow of the hill, he was unable to discover the length of their lines.

While the rebels, notwithstanding their great superiority of force, were losing their time in idle consultation whether they should presently fight or return to Perth, the duke had an opportunity of examining their dispositions, but for a considerable time could not comprehend what was their plan, and was at a loss how to form his own. No sooner had they taken the resolution to fight, however, than he perceived that they intended to attack him in front with their right, and in flank with their left, at the same time; the severity of the frost

through the night having rendered a morass, which covered that part of his position, perfectly passable: he hastened to make his dispositions accordingly. Before these dispositions, however, could be completed, general Witham, who commanded his left, was attacked by the clans, with all their characteristic fury, and totally routed, Witham himself riding full speed to Stirling with tidings of a total defeat. In the meantime, Argyle, at the head of Stair's and Evans' dragoons, charged the rebel army on the left, consisting mostly of cavalry, which he totally routed in his turn, driving them, to the number of five thousand men, beyond the water of Allan, in which many of them were drowned attempting to escape. General Wightman, who commanded the duke's centre, followed with three battalions of foot as closely as possible. The right of the rebels were all this time inactive, and seeing, by the retreat of Argyle's left, the field empty, joined the clans who had driven it off, and crossing the field of battle, took post, to the number of four thousand men, on the hill of Kippendavie. Apprised by general Wightman of his situation, which was now critical in the extreme, Argyle instantly wheeled round—formed the few troops he had, scarcely one thousand men, the Grays on the right, Evans' on the left, with the foot in the centre, and advancing towards the enemy, took post behind some fold dykes at the foot of the hill. Instead of attacking him, however, the rebels drew off towards Ardoch, allowing him quietly to proceed to Dunblane, where, having recalled general Witham, the army lay on their arms all night, expecting to renew the combat next day. Next day, finding the enemy gone, he returned to Stirling, carrying along with him sixteen standards, six pieces of cannon, four waggons, and a great quantity of provision, captured from the enemy. The number of the slain on the side of the rebels has been stated to have been eight hundred, among whom were the earl of Strathmore, Clanranald, and several other persons of distinction. Panmure and Drummond of Logie were among the wounded. Of the royal army there were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners upwards of six hundred. The lord Forfar was the only person of eminence killed on that side.

The obvious incapacity of both generals, though, from his great superiority of forces, Marr's is by far the most conspicuous, is the only striking feature of this battle; both claimed the victory at the time, and both had suffered a defeat, yet the consequences were decisive. The rebels never again faced the royal troops, and for any thing they effected might have separated that very day. The period indeed was fatal in the extreme to the Pretender. The whole body of his adherents in the south had fallen into the hands of generals Willis and Carpenter at Preston, and Inverness, with all the adjacent country, had been recovered to the government, through the exertions of the earl of Sutherland, lord Lovat, the Rosses, the Monros, and the Forbeses, nearly on this same day; and though Marr, on his return to Perth, celebrated his victory with *Te Deums*, thanksgivings, sermons, ringing of bells, and bonfires, his followers were dispirited, and many of them withdrew to their homes in disgust. Owing to the paucity of his numbers and the extreme rigour of the season, Argyle was in no great haste to follow up his part of the victory, and the government, evidently displeased with his tardy procedure, sent down general Cadogan to quicken, and perhaps to be a spy upon his motions. He, however, brought along with him six thousand Dutch and Swiss troops, with Newton's and Stanhope's dragoons, by which the royal army was made more than a match for the rebels, though they had been equally strong as before the battle of Dunblane. On the arrival of these reinforcements, orders were issued to the commander in Leith roads, to cannonade the town of Bruntisland, which was in possession of a large body of the rebels, which he did with so much effect, that



they abandoned the place, leaving behind them six pieces of cannon, a number of small arms, and a large quantity of provisions. Several other small garrisons on the coast were abandoned about the same time, and a detachment of the Dutch and Swiss troops, crossing over at the Queensferry, took possession of Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, and the neighbouring towns, in consequence of which Fife was entirely abandoned by the rebels. Some trifling skirmishes took place, but no one of such magnitude as to deserve a formal detail.

Cadogan, writing to the duke of Marlborough at this period, says, that he found the duke anxious to invent excuses for sitting still and endeavouring to discourage the troops, by exaggerating the numbers of the enemy, and the dangers and difficulties of the service. Now, however, having received from London, Berwick, and Edinburgh, a sufficient train of artillery, pontoons, engineers, &c. no excuse for inaction was left, but the inclemency of the weather; and this, in a council of war, it was determined to brave. Colonel Guest was accordingly sent out, on the 21st of January, 1716, with two hundred horse, to view the roads and reconnoitre the positions of the enemy. The colonel reported the roads impassable for carriages and heavy artillery, in consequence of which several thousands of the country people were called in and employed to clear them. A sudden thaw, on the 24th, followed by a heavy fall of snow, rendered the roads again impassable; but the march was determined upon, and the country men had to clear the roads a second time. But, besides the impassability of the roads, there were neither provisions, forage, nor shelter, (frozen rocks, and mountains of snow excepted,) to be found between Perth and Dunblane; the Chevalier, having ordered every village with all that could be of use either to man or beast, to be destroyed. Provisions and forage for the army were therefore to be provided, subsistence for twelve days being ordered to be carried along with them, and more to be in readiness to send after them when wanted. In the meantime, two regiments of dragoons and five hundred foot were sent forward to the broken bridge of Doune, in case the rebels might have attempted to secure the passage; and, on the 29th, the main army began its march, quartering that night in Dunblane. On the night of the 30th, the army quartered among the ruins of Auchterarder, without any covering save the canopy of heaven, the night being piercingly cold and the snow upwards of three feet deep. On this day's march the army was preceded by two thousand labourers clearing the roads. Next morning they surprised and made prisoners fifty men in the garrison of Tullibardine, where the duke received, with visible concern, if we may credit Cadogan, the news of the Pretender having abandoned Perth on the preceding day, having thrown his artillery into the Tay, which he crossed on the ice. Taking four squadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, whatever might be his feelings, Argyle hastened to take possession of that city, at which he arrived, with general Cadogan and the dragoons, about one o'clock on the morning of the 1st of February. The two colonels, Campbell of Finab, and Campbell of Lawers, who had been stationed at Finlarig, hearing of the retreat of the rebels, had entered the town the preceding day, and had made prisoners of a party of rebels who had got drunk upon a quantity of brandy, which they had not had the means otherwise to carry away. Eight hundred boils of oat meal were found in Marr's magazine, which Argyle ordered to be, by the miller of the mill of Earn, divided among the sufferers of the different villages that had been burned by order of the Pretender. Finab was despatched instantly to Dundee in pursuit of the rebels; and entered it only a few hours after they had departed. On the 2d, his grace continued the pursuit, and lay that night at Errol. On the 3d, he came to Dundee, where he was joined by the main body of the army on the 4th. Here the intelligence from the rebel army led his grace to conclude that they meant to defend Montrose,

where they could more easily receive supplies from abroad than at Perth; and, to allow them as little time as possible to fortify themselves, two detachments were sent forward without a moment's loss of time; the one by Aberbrothick, and the other by Brechin. Owing to the depths of the roads the progress of these detachments was slow, being under the necessity of employing the country people to clear away the snow before them. They were followed next day by the whole army, the duke, with the cavalry and artillery, taking the way by Brechin, and Cadogan, with the infantry, by Aberbrothick. On this day's march they learned that the Chevalier, Marr, and the principal leaders of the rebel army had embarked the day before at Montrose, on board the *Maria Teresa*, and had sailed for France, while their followers had marched to Aberdeen under the charge of general Gordon and earl Marischal. On the 6th, the duke entered Montrose, and the same day the rebels entered Aberdeen. Thither his grace followed them on the 8th; but they had then separated among the hills of Badenoch, and were completely beyond the reach of their pursuers. A number of their chieftains, however, with some Irish officers, being well mounted, rode off in a body for Peterhead, expecting there to find the means of escaping to France. After these a party of horse were sent out, but they had escaped. Finab was also sent to Frazerburgh in search of stragglers, but found only the Chevalier's physician, whom he made prisoner.

Finding the rebels completely dispersed, Argyle divided his troops and dispersed them so as he thought best for preserving the public tranquillity; and, leaving Cadogan in the command, set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 27th of February, and was present at the election of a peer to serve in the room of the marquis of Tweeddale, deceased. On the 1st of March, after having been most magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the Scottish capital, his grace departed for London, where he arrived on the 6th, and was, by his majesty, to all appearance, most graciously received. There was, however, at court a secret dissatisfaction with his conduct; and, in a short time, he was dismissed from all his employments, though he seems in the meantime to have acted cordially enough with the ministry, whose conduct was, in a number of instances, ridiculous enough. They had obtained an act of parliament for bringing all the Lancaster rebels to be tried at London, and all the Scottish ones to be tried at Carlisle, under the preposterous idea that juries could not be found in those places to return a verdict of guilty. Under some similar hallucination, they supposed it impossible to elect a new parliament without every member thereof being Jacobite in his principles; and, as the parliament was nearly run, they brought in a bill to enable themselves, as well as all other parliaments which should succeed them, to sit seven years in place of three. The bill was introduced into the house of lords, on the 10th of April, by the Duke of Devonshire, who represented triennial parliaments as serving no other purposes than the keeping alive party divisions and family feuds, with a perpetual train of enormous expenses, and particularly to encourage the intrigues of foreign powers, which, in the present temper of the nation, might be attended with the most fatal consequences. All these dangers he proposed to guard against, by prolonging the duration of parliaments from three to seven years. He was supported by the earls of Dorset and Buckingham, the duke of Argyle, the lord Townshend, with all the leaders of the party; and though violently opposed by the tories, who, very justly, though they have been its zealous advocates ever since, denounced it as an inroad upon the fundamental parliamentary law of the kingdom, the measure was carried by a sweeping majority, and has been parliamentary law from that time.

Previously to this, Argyle had honourably distinguished himself by a steady

opposition to the schism bill, against which, along with a number of the greatest names England has ever produced, he entered his protest upon the journals of the house. Subsequently, in a debate on the bill for vesting the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland in trustees for the public behoof, we find him speaking and voting against it with the Jacobite lords North and Grey, Trevor, and Harcourt, but he was now out of all his employments and pensions, and the Jacobite Lockhart was every day expecting to hear that he had declared for James VIII. which there is every probability he would have done, had that imbecile prince been able to profit by the wisdom of his advisers. In the beginning of the year 1718, when the Pretender became again a tool in the hands of Cardinal Albemarle for disturbing the tranquillity of the British government, Argyle was restored to favour, appointed steward of the household, and created duke of Greenwich, when he again lent his support to the ministry in bringing forward the famous peerage bill; another insane attempt to subvert the balance of the constitution. By this bill the peerage was to be fixed so as that the number of English peers should never be increased above six, more than their number at that time, which, on the failure of heirs male, were to be filled up by new creations. Instead of the sixteen elective Scottish peers, twenty-five were to be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom, to be also kept up by naming other Scottish peers on the failure of heirs male. This bill was introduced by the duke of Somerset, seconded by Argyle, and being also recommended by his majesty, could not fail of passing the lords, but met with such violent opposition in the commons that it was found expedient to lay it aside for the time. When again brought forward it was rejected by a great majority. After this his grace seems for a long period to have enjoyed his pensions, and to have lived for the most part on peaceable terms with his colleagues. Only, in the year 1731, we find him, in order to supplant the *Squadron* and secure to himself and his brother the sole and entire patronage of Scotland, again in treaty with Lockhart of Carnwath, and the tories, in consequence of which, Lockhart assures the king [James] that if there is to be a new parliament, the tories will have the half of the sixteen peers, and Argyle's influence for all the tory commons they shall be able to bring forward as candidates. "I also inserted," he adds, "that matters should be made easy to those who are prosecuted for the king's [James] sake, and that Argyle should oppose the peerage bill, both of which are agreed to." The ministry, however, contrived to balance the *Squadron* and his grace pretty equally against one another, and so secured the fidelity of both, till 1725, when the *Squadron* were finally thrown out, and the whole power of Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and his brother Ilay; they engaging to carry through the malt tax, as the other had carried through the forfeiture of the rebels' estates. From this, till the affair of captain Porteous, in 1737, we hear little of his grace in public. On that occasion we find him again in opposition to the ministry; defending the city of Edinburgh, and charging the mob upon a set of upstart fanatical preachers, by which he doubtless meant the seceders. The effect, however, was only the display of his own ignorance, and the infliction of a deeper wound upon the Scottish church, by the imposition of reading what was called Porteous' Paper upon all her ministers. Edinburgh, however, contrary to the intentions of the court, was left in the possession of her charter, her gates and her guards; but the lord provost was declared incapable of ever again holding a civil office, and a mulct of two thousand pounds sterling was imposed upon the city funds for the captain's widow. In the succeeding years, when the nation was heated into frenzy against Spain, his grace made several appearances on the popular side; and, in 1740, after an anti-ministerial speech on the state of the nation, he was again deprived of all his employments. On the resignation

of Sir Robert Walpole, his grace was, by the new ministry, once more restored to all his places. The ministry, however, were unable to maintain their popularity, and Argyle finally quitted the stage of public life. From this time forward he affected privacy, and admitted none to his conversation but particular friends.

The Jacobites were now preparing to make a last effort to destroy that spirit of freedom which was so rapidly annihilating their hopes. They had all along believed that Argyle, could he have reconciled them with his own, was not unfriendly to their interests, and now that he was old, idle, and disgusted, hoping to work upon his avarice and his ambition at the same time, they prevailed upon the Chevalier, now also approaching to dotage, to write him a friendly letter. The time, however, had been allowed to go by. Argyle had acquired a high reputation for patriotism—he was now old and paralytic, utterly unfit for going through those scenes of peril that had been the pride of his youth; and he was too expert a politician not to know, that from the progress of public opinion, as well as from the state of property and private rights, the cause of the Stuarts was utterly hopeless. The letter was certainly beneath his notice; but to gratify his vanity, and to show that he was still of some little consequence in the world, he sent it to his majesty's ministers. The Jacobites, enraged at his conduct, and probably ashamed of their own, gave out, that the whole was a trick intended to expose the weakness of the ministry, and to put an affront upon the duke of Argyle. The loss to either party was not considerable, as his grace's disorder now began rapidly to increase. He fell by degrees into a state of deep melancholy, and departed this life on the 3d day of September, 1743, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

His grace was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of John Brown Esq., and niece to Sir Charles Duncombe, lord mayor of London, by whom he had no issue. Secondly, to Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton of Winnington, in Cheshire, by whom he had four daughters. He was succeeded in his Scottish titles and estates by his brother lord Ilay, but wanting male issue his English titles became extinct.

From the brief sketch we have given of his life, the reader, we apprehend, will be at no loss to appreciate the character of John duke of Argyle. Few men have enjoyed such a large share of popularity—fewer still have, through a long life, threaded the mazes of political intrigue with the same uniform good fortune. The latter, however, illustrates the former. He who has had for life the sole patronage of a kingdom, must have had many a succession of *humble servants* ready to give him credit for any or for all perfections, and he must have exercised that patronage with singular infelicity, if he has not benefited many individuals who will think it a duty they owe to themselves, if not to extenuate his faults, to magnify his virtues. Such a man can never want popularity, especially if he has an assistant upon whom he can impose the drudgery, and the less dignified duties of his place, reserving to himself more especially the performance of those that flatter public opinion, and conciliate public affection. Such a man was Argyle, and such an assistant he had in his brother, lord Ilay, who, supported by his influence, had the reputation, for upwards of thirty years, of being the *king* of Scotland. In early life he acquired considerable military reputation under the duke of Marlborough, and when he was paying court to the tories had the temerity, on a military question, to set up his opinion in the house of lords, in opposition to that most accomplished of all generals. How justly, let Sherifmuir and the hill of Kippendavie say! Happily for his grace there was no lord George Murray with the rebels on that occasion. If there had, Sir John Cope might at this day have been reputed a brave man, and a

great general. His eloquence and his patriotism have been highly celebrated by Thomson, but the value of poetical panegyric is now perfectly understood; besides, he shared the praises of that poet in common with Bubb Doddington, the countess of Hertford, and twenty other names of equal insignificance. General Cadogan, who accompanied him through the latter part of his northern campaign, seems to have made a very low estimate of his patriotism. He charges him openly with being lukewarm in the cause he defended, and of allowing his Argyleshire men to go before the army, and plunder the country, "which," says he, "enrages our soldiers, who are not allowed to take the worth of a farthing out of even the rebels' houses." What was taken out of houses by either of them we know not; but we know that our army in its progress north, particularly the Dutch part of it, burnt for fuel ploughs, harrows, carts, cart-wheels, and barn doors indiscriminately, so that many an honest farmer could not cultivate his fields in the spring for the want of these necessary implements, which to us proves pretty distinctly, that there was a very small degree of patriotism felt by either of them. Of learning his grace had but an inconsiderable portion; still he had a tolerable share of the natural shrewdness of his countrymen, and though his speculative views were narrow, his knowledge of mankind seems to have been practically pretty extensive. His disgraceful truckling to, and trafficking with the Tories and the Jacobites, at all times when he was out of place, demonstrates his principles to have been sordid, and his character selfish. His views of liberty seem to have been very contracted, the liberty of lords and lairds to use the people as might suit their purposes and inclinations. In perfect accordance with this feeling, he was kind and affectionate in domestic life, particularly to his servants, with whom he seldom parted, and for whom, in old age, he was careful to provide. He was also an example to all noblemen in being attentive to the state of his affairs, and careful to discharge all his debts, particularly tradesmen's accounts, in due season. We cannot sum up his character more appropriately than in the words of Lockhart, who seems to have appreciated very correctly the most prominent features of the man with whom he was acquainted. "He was not," says he, "strictly speaking, a man of sound understanding and judgment, for all his natural endowments were sullied with too much impetuosity, passion, and positiveness, and his sense lay rather in a flash of wit, than a solid conception and reflection—yet, nevertheless, he might well enough pass as a very well-accomplished gentleman."

CAMPBELL, JOHN, LL.D., an eminent miscellaneous writer, was born at Edinburgh, March 8, 1708. He was the fourth son of Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon, by Elizabeth Smith, daughter of ——— Smith, Esq., of Windsor. By his father, Dr Campbell was connected with the noble family of Breadalbane, and other distinguished Highland chiefs; by his mother, he was descended from the poet Waller. If we are not much mistaken, this distinguished writer was also allied to the famous Rob Roy Macgregor, whose children, at the time when Dr Campbell enjoyed a high literary reputation in the metropolis, must have been pursuing the lives of outlaws in another part of the country, hardly yet emerged from barbarism. When only five years of age, he was conveyed from Scotland, which country he never afterwards saw, to Windsor, where he received his education under the care of a maternal uncle. It was attempted to make him enter the profession of an attorney; but his thirst for knowledge rendered that disagreeable to him, and caused him to prefer the precarious life of an author by profession. It would be vain to enumerate the many works of Dr Campbell. His first undertaking of any magnitude, was "The Military History of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene," which appeared in 1736, in two volumes, folio, and was well received. He was next concerned in the preparation of the

Ancient Universal History, which appeared in seven folios, the last being published in 1744. The part relating to the cosmogony, which is by far the most learned, was written by Dr Campbell. In 1742, appeared the two first volumes of his *Lives of the Admirals*, and, in 1744, the remaining two: this is the only work of Dr Campbell which has continued popular to the present time, an accident probably arising, in a great measure, from the nature of the subject. The activity of Dr Campbell at this period is very surprising. In the same year in which he completed his last mentioned work, he published a *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in 2 volumes, folio. In 1745, he commenced the publication of the *Biographia Britannica*, in weekly numbers. In this, as in all the other works of Dr Campbell, it is found that he did not content himself with the ordinary duties of his profession, as exercised at that time. While he wrote to supply the current necessities of the public, and of his own home, he also endeavoured to give his works an original and peculiar value. Hence it is found that the lives composing his *Biographia Britannica* are compiled with great care from a vast number of documents, and contain many striking speculations on literary and political subjects, calculated to obtain for the work a high and enduring character. The candour and benevolent feelings of Dr Campbell have also produced the excellent effect of striking impartiality in the grand questions of religious and political controversy. Though himself a member of the church of England, he treated the lives of the great non-conformists, such as Baxter and Calamy, with such justice as to excite the admiration of their own party. Dr Campbell's style is such as would not now, perhaps, be much admired; but it was considered, by his own contemporaries, to be superior both in accuracy and in warmth of tone to what was generally used. He treated the article *BOYLE* in such terms as to draw the thanks of John, fifth earl of Orrery, "in the name of all the Boyles, for the honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in such a light as to give a spirit of emulation to those who were hereafter to inherit the title." A second edition of the *Biographia*, with additions, was undertaken, after Dr Campbell's death, by Dr Kippis, but only carried to a fifth volume, where it stopped at the letter F. It is still, in both editions, one of the greatest works of reference in the language. While engaged in these heavy undertakings, Dr Campbell occasionally relaxed himself in lighter works, one of which, entitled, "*Hermippus Redivivus*," is a curious essay, apparently designed to explain in a serious manner an ancient medical whim, which assumed that life could be prolonged to a great extent by inhaling the breath of young women. It is said that some grave physicians were so far influenced by this mock essay, as to go and live for a time in female boarding-schools, for the purpose of putting its doctrine to the proof. In reality, the whole affair was a jest of Dr Campbell, or rather, perhaps, a sportive exercise of his mind, being merely an imitation of the manner of Bayle, with whose style of treating controversial subjects he appears to have been deeply impressed, as he professedly adopts it in the *Biographia Britannica*. In 1750, Dr Campbell published his celebrated work, "*The Present State of Europe*," which afterwards went through many editions, and was so much admired abroad, that a son of the duke de Belleisle studied English in order to be able to read it. The vast extent of information which Dr Campbell had acquired during his active life, by conversation, as well as by books, and the comprehensive powers of arrangement which his profession had already given him, are conspicuous in this work. He was afterwards employed in writing some of the most important articles in the "*Modern Universal History*," which extended to sixteen volumes, folio, and was reprinted in a smaller form. His last great work was the "*Political Survey of Britain*;" being a Series of Reflections on the situation, lands,

inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce, of this island ;" which appeared in 1774, in 2 volumes 4to, having cost him the labour of many years. Though its value is so far temporary, this is perhaps the work which does its author the highest credit. It excited the admiration of the world to such a degree as caused him to be absolutely overwhelmed with new correspondents. He tells a friend, in a letter, that he had already consumed a ream of paper, (nearly a thousand sheets,) in answering these friends, and was just breaking upon another, which perhaps would share the same fate.

Dr Campbell had been married early in life to Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Robe, of Leominster, in the county of Hereford, gentleman, by whom he had seven children. Though it does not appear that he had any other resources than his pen, his style of life was very respectable. His time was so exclusively devoted to reading and writing, that he seldom stirred abroad. His chief exercise was an occasional walk in his garden, or in a room of his house. He was naturally of a delicate frame of body ; but strict temperance, with the regularity of all his habits, preserved his health against the effects of both his sedentary life and original weakness, till his sixty-eighth year, when he died, December 28, 1775, in full possession of his faculties, and without pain.

It would only encumber our pages to recount all the minor productions of Dr Campbell. A minute specification of them is preserved in the second edition of his *Biographia Britannica*, where his life was written by Dr Kippis. So multitudinous, however, were his fugitive compositions, that he once bought an old pamphlet, with which he was pleased on dipping into it, and which turned out to be one of his own early writings. So completely had he forgot every thing connected with it, that he had read it half through before he had discovered that it was written by himself. On another occasion, a friend brought him a book, in French, which professed to have been translated from the German, and which the owner recommended Dr Campbell to try in an English dress. The Doctor, on looking into it, discovered it to be a neglected work of his own, which had found its way into Germany, and there been published as an original work. Dr Campbell, in his private life, was a gentleman and a Christian : he possessed an acquaintance with the most of modern languages, besides Hebrew, Greek, and various oriental tongues. His best faculty was his memory, which was surprisingly tenacious and accurate. Dr Johnson spoke of him in the following terms, as recorded by Boswell : " I think highly of Campbell. In the first place, he has very good parts. In the second place, he has very extensive reading ; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man very useful. In the third place, he has learnt much by what is called the *voce viva*. He talks with a great many people." The opportunities which Dr Campbell enjoyed of acquiring information, by the mode described by Dr Johnson, were very great. He enjoyed a universal acquaintance among the clever men of his time, literary and otherwise, whom he regularly saw in *conversations* on the Sunday evenings. The advantage which a literary man must enjoy by this means is very great, for conversation, when it becomes in the least excited, strikes out ideas from the minds of all present, which would never arise in solitary study, and often brings to a just equilibrium disputable points which, in the cogitations of a single individual, would be settled all on one side. Smollett, in enumerating the writers who had reflected lustre on the reign of George II., speaks of " the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision." It only remains to be mentioned, that this excellent man was honoured, in 1754, with the degree of LL.D. by the university of Glasgow, and that, for some years

before his death, having befriended the administration of the earl of Bute in his writings, he was rewarded by the situation of his majesty's agent for the province of Georgia.

CAMPBELL, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN, a distinguished soldier, was born at Edinburgh, December 7, 1753. He was second son of John Campbell, Esq., of Stonefield, one of the judges of the court of session, and lady Grace Stuart, sister to John, third earl of Bute. Lord Campbell was a judge of the supreme court for the long period of thirty-nine years, and died on the 19th of June, 1801. His son John received the greater part of his education in his native city, the High School of which he attended from the year 1759 to 1763. When eighteen years of age, he entered the army, as ensign in the 57th regiment of foot; and in three years afterwards, was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 7th foot, or royal fusileers. With this regiment he served in Canada, and was made prisoner there, when that country was overrun by the American generals, Montgomery and Arnold. Having obtained his release, he was, two years afterwards, namely, in 1775, appointed to a captaincy in the 71st, or, as they were then called, Fraser's Highlanders; and with this corps he served in America, until towards the close of the war with that country, having been, in the mean time, appointed major of the 74th regiment, or Argyllshire Highlanders.

In February, 1781, major Campbell exchanged into the 100th regiment, with which corps he embarked in the expedition fitted out by the British government against the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of commodore Johnston, and general, afterwards Sir William Meadows. On this occasion, the general orders bore, that the troops on board of the Porpoise and Eagle transports, were to receive their orders from major Campbell. Circumstances, however, having subsequently rendered it advisable, in the opinion of the commodore and general, not to make any attempt on the Cape, but rather to proceed to the East Indies, to aid the British forces there, the transports proceeded to their new destination, and arrived in Bombay in January, 1782. In the February following, major Campbell was appointed to command the flank corps of a small army assembled at Calicut, on the Malabar coast, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Humberston. This army marched into the interior, for the purpose of attacking Palagatcherry, an important stronghold of Hyder Ally; but it was found too strong to be assailed, with any chance of success, by so small a force as that which was now brought against it; colonel Humberston, therefore, found it necessary to retreat, without attempting anything. During this retreat, the British forces were for some time pursued by the enemy, who, however, were kept so effectually at bay by the retiring troops, that they were unable to obtain any advantage over them; and the sole merit of this was ascribed by the commanding officer, to the able and soldier-like manner in which major Campbell covered the retreat, in which service he had a horse shot under him.

The retreating army having reached Paniana, a British station, the command was assumed by colonel Macleod, who made immediate preparations for receiving the enemy, who, though now left at some distance in the rear, were still advancing. In the disposition of his forces on this occasion, colonel Macleod confided the command of the centre to major Campbell, who had, in the interim, been appointed to the majority of the second battalion of the 42nd regiment. The enemy, led by Tippoo Sultan, shortly afterwards appeared, and attacked the posts where major Campbell and major Shaw, who commanded the left, were situated; but was repulsed with such loss, that he retreated with his army to a considerable distance, and did not again seek to



renew the contest. In this engagement, major Campbell was wounded, but remained in the field till the enemy was defeated. The singular intrepidity and admirable conduct which he displayed throughout the whole of this affair, called forth the warmest encomiums from colonel Macleod, who, in the general orders which he issued on the following day, bore the most flattering testimony to his merits.

The most important service in which major Campbell was engaged, was the siege of Annantpore, which he reduced, and took from the enemy.

In May, 1783, he was appointed by the governor and select committee of Bombay, to the provisional command of the army in the Bidnure country, in absence of colonel Macleod, who was prisoner with the enemy. Soon after major Campbell had assumed the command, Tippoo having got possession of Bidnure, meditated an attack on Mangalore, where major Campbell was stationed; and with this view, and as a preparatory proceeding, he sent a detachment of his army, consisting of about four thousand horse and foot, and some field pieces, in advance. Having been informed of the approach of these troops, major Campbell marched from Mangalore at midnight, on the 6th of May, 1783, with fourteen hundred men, with the intention of surprising them; and in this he was eminently successful. He reached the enemy's camp about day break, attacked them, and instantly put them to the route, capturing four brass field pieces, and one hundred and eighty draught bullocks; the latter, a singularly valuable prize, as, from the country being in possession of the enemy, cattle was not to be had for the commissariat. The defeat of Tippoo's detachment, however, instead of diverting him from his intended attack on Mangalore, had the effect only of urging him to hasten his proceedings; and on the 19th of May, his vanguard appeared in sight of that place, which by the 23d was regularly invested by an army, computed at not less than one hundred and forty thousand men, accompanied by an hundred pieces of artillery.

Major Campbell's defence of this important fortress against such a prodigious force, is justly reckoned one of the most remarkable achievements that ever distinguished the British arms in India. The garrison under his command consisted only of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three men, and of these not more than two or three hundred were British soldiers, the remainder being seapoys, or native infantry; and they were, besides, in want of almost every accommodation and comfort necessary to enable them to endure a siege. They were short of both provisions and medicine; and, from the insufficient shelter which the fort afforded, they were exposed to the inclemencies of the monsoon. Notwithstanding all this, however, this little garrison resisted all the efforts of Tippoo, who commanded at the siege in person, till the 2nd of August, two months and a half, when, through the intervention of the envoy from the French court, at Tippoo's Durbar, a cessation of hostilities took place; but as neither side meant, notwithstanding this parley, to give up the contest, the siege was now converted into a blockade; and though the garrison was thus relieved from the danger of casualties by the hand of the enemy, it was not relieved from the miseries of famine, which had now reduced them to the last extremity of distress.

Soon after the cessation of hostilities took place, Tippoo expressed a wish to see major Campbell, whose bravery, though an enemy, he had generosity enough to appreciate. Major Campbell accepted the invitation, and had an audience of the eastern potentate, who received him with much politeness, and paid him many flattering compliments. The major was accompanied by several of his officers on this occasion, and amongst these by two captains of the 42nd, in their full costume; a sight with which Tippoo was extremely delighted. To each

of the officers he presented a handsome shawl; and after they had returned to the fort, he sent major Campbell an additional present of a very fine horse. which the famishing garrison, such was the melancholy condition to which they were reduced, afterwards killed and ate.

By the assistance of occasional, but extremely inadequate, supplies of necessaries, which reached them from time to time by sea, the intrepid defenders of Mangalore held out till the 24th of January, 1784, by which time they were reduced to the most deplorable condition by disease and famine, when major Campbell determined on calling a council of war, to consider whether they should continue the defence, or capitulate. The council decided on the latter, and terms were accordingly submitted to Tippoo, who accepted them; and on the 30th January, the troops evacuated the fort, and embarked for Tillicherry, one of the British settlements on the coast of Malabar; after enduring, under all the disadvantageous circumstances already related, a siege of eight months, and sustaining a loss in killed and wounded, besides other casualties, of no less than seven hundred and forty-nine, nearly the half of the whole garrison.

Though thus eventually compelled to capitulate, the service performed by colonel Campbell, (a rank to which he was promoted, 19th February, 1783,) by the determined and protracted resistance he had made, was of the last importance to the British interests in India, inasmuch as it concentrated and occupied all Tippoo's forces for eight entire months, at a most critical period, and prevented him from attempting any hostile operations in any other part of the empire during all that time; and of the value of that service, the government of Bombay expressed itself deeply sensible; and there is no doubt that some especial marks of its favour and approbation would have followed this expression of its sentiments regarding the conduct of colonel Campbell, had he lived to receive them; but this was not permitted to him. He was not destined to enjoy the fame he had won, or to reap its reward. The fatigue he had undergone during the siege of Mangalore had undermined his constitution, and brought on an illness, which soon terminated fatally.

Under this affliction, he quitted the army on the 19th February, and proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on the 13th March, past all hope of recovery; and on the 23rd of the same month, he expired, in the 31st year of his age. A monument was erected to his memory in the church at Bombay, by order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, as a testimony at once to his merits, and of their gratitude for the important services he had rendered to the British interests in India.

CANT, ANDREW, a Presbyterian preacher of great vigour and eloquence at the period of the Second Reformation. In 1638 he was minister of Pitaligo in Aberdeenshire. Unlike the generality of the clergy in that district of Scotland, he entered heartily into the national covenant for resisting the episcopalian encroachments of Charles I., and took an active part in the struggles of the time for civil and religious liberty. He was associated with the celebrated Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, the Earls of Montrose and Kinghorn, and Lord Cupar, in the commission appointed in July 1638, by the Tables, or deputies of the different classes of Covenanters, noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, to proceed to the north and endeavour to engage the inhabitants of the town and county of Aberdeen in the work of reformation. The doctors of divinity in the town had steadily resisted the progress of reforming principles, and were greatly incensed when they heard of this commission. They fulminated against it from the pulpit; and the town council, under their influence and example, enacted, by a plurality of votes, that none of the citizens should subscribe the covenant. The deputies arrived on the 20th of the month,

and were hospitably received by the magistrates; but they declined their proffers of friendship till they should first show their favour to the object of their visit. Montrose, "in a bold and smart speech," remonstrated with them on the danger of popish and prelatical innovations; but the provost excused himself and his coadjutors by pleading that they were protestants and not papists, and intimating their desire not to thwart the inclination of the king. Immediately after their interview with the magistrates, the deputies received from the doctors of the two universities a paper containing fourteen ensnaring propositions respecting the covenant, promising compliance should the commissioners return a satisfactory answer. These propositions had been carefully conned over previously, and even printed and transmitted to the court in England before the arrival of the deputies. They were speedily answered by the latter, who sent their replies to the doctors in the evening of the next day. Meanwhile the nobles applied to the magistrates for the use of the pulpits on the Sabbath following, for the ministerial commissioners, but this being refused, the three ministers preached in the open air, to great multitudes, giving pointed and popular answers to the questions of the doctors, and urging the subscription of the covenant with such effect that five hundred signatures were adhibited to it upon the spot, some of the adherents being persons of quality. On Monday the deputies went out into the country districts, and although the Marquis of Huntly and the Aberdeen doctors had been at pains to pre-occupy the minds of the people, yet the covenant was signed by about forty-four ministers and many gentlemen. Additional subscriptions awaited the deputies on their return to Aberdeen, where they preached again as on the former Sabbath; but finding that they could produce no effect upon the doctors of divinity, whose principles led them to render implicit obedience to the court, they desisted from the attempt and returned to Edinburgh.

In the subsequent November, Mr Cant sat in the celebrated Glasgow Assembly (of 1638), and took part in the abolition of episcopacy with the great and good men whom the crisis of affairs had brought together on that memorable occasion. In the course of the procedure, the Assembly was occupied with a presentation to Mr Cant to the pastoral charge of Newbattle:—"My Lord Lowthian presented ane supplication to the Assemblie, anent the transportation of Mr Androw Cant from Pitaligo to Newbotle, in the Presbitrie of Dalkeith. Moderatour (Henderson) said.—It would seeme reasonable your Lordship should get a favourable answer, considering your diligence and zeale in this cause above many uthers, and I know this not to be a new motion, but to be concludit by the patron, presbitrie, and parochie. The commissioner of Edin<sup>r</sup>. alleadged that they had made an election of him 24 yeares since. Then the mater was put to voiting—Whither Mr Andro Cant should be transported from Pitaligo to Edinburgh? And the most pairt of the Assembly voited to his transplantation to Newbotle; and so the Moderatour declaired him to be minister at Newbotle."

From his proximity to Edinburgh in his new charge, Mr Cant was enabled to devote much of his attention to public affairs, with which his name is closely connected at this period. In 1640, he, and Alexander Henderson, Robert Blair, John Livingston, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie, the most eminent ministers of the day, were appointed chaplains to the army of the Covenanters, which they accompanied in the campaign of that year. When the Scots gained possession of Newcastle, August 30, Henderson and Cant were the ministers nominated to preach in the town churches. In the same year the General Assembly agreed to translate Mr Cant from Newbattle to Aberdeen. In 1641 we again find him at Edinburgh, where public duty no doubt often called him. On the 21st of August he preached before Charles I., on the occasion of his majesty's second visit for the purpose of conciliating his Scottish subjects. When the union of the church

and nation, cemented by the covenant, was dislocated by the unhappy deed known as the Engagement, in 1648, Cant, as might have been expected from his zeal and fidelity, stood consistently by the covenanting as now distinguished from the political party. When General David Leslie was at Aberdeen in November, 1650, on an expedition against some northern insurgents, he was visited by Messrs Andrew Cant, elder and younger, ministers of Aberdeen, who, amongst many other discourses, told the lord general, "that wee could not in conscience assist the king to recover his crowne of England, but *he thoughtis one kingdome might serve him werrey weill, and one crowne was eneucho for any one man; one kingdome being sufficient for one to reuell and governe.*" *Balfour's Annals*, iv. 161.

In the year 1660, a complaint was presented to the magistrates, charging Mr Cant with having published Rutherford's celebrated book, entitled *Lex Rex*, without authority, and for denouncing *anathemas* and *imprecations* against many of his congregation, in the course of performing his religious duties. A variety of proceedings took place on this question before the magistrates, but no judgment was given; Mr Cant, however, finding his situation rather unpleasant, withdrew himself from his pastoral charge, removed from the town with his wife and family, and died about the year 1664.

A clergyman, named Mr Andrew Cant, supposed to have been son to the above, was a minister of Edinburgh during the reign of Charles II., and consequently must have been an adherent of episcopacy. He was also principal of the University between the years 1675 and 1685. The same person, or perhaps his son, was deprived of his charge in Edinburgh, at the Revolution, and, on the 17th of October, 1722, was consecrated as one of the bishops of the disestablished episcopal church in Scotland. This individual died in 1728.

How far it may be true, as mentioned in the Spectator, that the modern word *Cant*, which in the beginning of the last century was applied to signify religious unctiousness, but is now extended to a much wider interpretation, was derived from the worthy minister of Aberdeen, we cannot pretend to determine. The more probable derivation is from the Latin *cantus*, singing or chanting.

We have some further anecdotes of Mr Cant in Wodrow's *Analects*, or private memorandum book; a valuable manuscript in the Advocates' Library.

"Mr David Lyall, who was formerly a presbyterian minister, was ordained by the presbytery of Aberdeen, Mr Andrew Cant being at that time moderator. He afterwards complied with episcopacy, and was the man who intimated the sentence of Mr Andrew Cant's deposition, who was present in the church hearing him, and immediately after he had done it, it's said Mr Cant should have spoken publicly to him in the church in these words, 'Davie, Davie, I kent aye ye wad doe this since the day I laid my hands on your head.' He [Mr Lyall] was afterwards minister of Montrose, and had ane thundering way of preaching, and died at Montrose about 10 or 12 years agoe. It's said that some days before his death, as he was walking in the Links, about the twilight, at a pretty distance from the town, he espied, as it were, a woman all in white standing not far from him, who immediately disappeared, and he coming up presently to the place saw no person there, though the Links be very plain. Only, casting his eyes on the place where she stood, he saw two words drawn and written, as it had been with a staff upon the sand—'SENTENCED AND CONDEMNED';—upon which he came home very pensive and melancholy, and in a little sickens and dyes. What to make of this, or what truth is in it, I cannot tell; only I had it from a minister who lives near Montrose, Mr J. G.—i. 149.

"Mr Andrew Cant, in Aberdeen, was a violent royalist, and even when the English were there, he used to pray for our banished king, and that the Lord would deliver him from the bondage of oppressors. One day in the time of the

English, [*i. e.* while Scotland was subject to the English commonwealth,] when there were a great many officers in the church, he was preaching very boldly upon that head, and the officers and soldiers got all up, and many of them drew their swords: all went into confusion. Mr Menzies, his colleague, was very timorous and crip in beneath the pulpit, as is said. The soldiers advanced towards the pulpit. After he had stopped a little, he said, with much boldness, here is the man spoke soe and soe, and opened his breast ready to receive the thrusts, if any will venture to give them for the truth. He had once been a captain, and was one of the most bold and resolute men in his day.—iii, 153.

“Mr Andrew Cant was minister of the new town of Aberdeen. He was a most zealous straight man for the covenant and cause of God. I hear he had that expression at his death, that his conscience bare him witness that he never gave a wrong touch to the ark of God all his dayes. The malignants used to call him one of the apostles of the covenant.” iv, 265.

CARGILL, DONALD, an eminent preacher of the more uncompromising order of presbyterians in the reign of Charles II., was the son of respectable parents in the parish of Rattray, in Perthshire, where he was born, about the year 1610.<sup>1</sup> We find the following account of the state of his mind in early life, amongst the memoranda of Mr Wodrow, who appears to have written down every tradition of the fathers of the church, which came to his ears.<sup>2</sup> “Mr Donald Cargill,” says the pious historian, “for some twenty or thirty years before his death, was never under doubts as to his interest, and the reason was made known to him in an extraordinary way, and the way was this, as Mr C. told my father. When he was in his youth, he was naturally hasty and fiery, and he fell under deep soul exercise, and that in a very high degree, and for a long time after all means used, public and private, and the trouble still increasing, he at length came to a positive resolution to make away with himself, and accordingly went out more than once to drown himself in a water, but he was still scarred by people coming by, or somewhat or other. At length, after several essays, he takes on a resolution to take a time or place where nothing should stop, and goes out early one morning by break of day to a coal pit, and when he comes to it, and none at all about, he comes to the brink of it to throw himself in, and just as he was going to jump in he heard an audible voice from heaven, ‘Son, be of cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee,’ and that stopped him, and he said to ———, that he never got leave to doubt of his interest. But, blessed be God, we have a more sure word of prophecy to lean to, though I believe where such extraordinary revelations are, there is an inward testimony of the spirit cleaving marks of grace to the soul too.”

We learn from other sources that Mr Cargill, having studied at Aberdeen, and, being persuaded by his father to enter the church, became minister of the Barony Parish in Glasgow, some time after the division among the clergy, in 1650. He continued to exercise the duties of this situation in a very pious and exemplary manner, until the restoration of the episcopal church, when his refusing to accept collation from the archbishop, or celebrate the king's birth-day, drew upon him the attention of the authorities, and he was banished, by act of council to the country, beyond the Tay. To this edict, he appears to have paid little attention; yet he did not awake the jealousy of the government till 1668, when he was called before the council, and commanded peremptorily to observe their former act. In September, 1669, upon his petition to the council, he was permitted to come to Edinburgh upon some legal business, but not to reside in

<sup>1</sup> Howie's Scots' Worthies.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow's *Analecta*, or Memorandum-book, (MS. Advocates' Library,) i. 3.

the city, or to approach Glasgow. For some years after this period, he led the life of a field preacher, subject to the constant vigilance of the emissaries of the government, from whom he made many remarkable escapes. So far from accepting the *indulgence* offered to the presbyterian clergy, he was one of that small body who thought it their duty to denounce openly all who did so. In 1679, he appeared amongst the unfortunate band which stood forward at Bothwell bridge in vain resistance to an overpowering tyranny. On this occasion, he was wounded, but had the good fortune to make his escape. Subsequent to this period, he took refuge for a short while in Holland. In the months of May and June, 1680, he was again under hiding in Scotland, and seems to have been concerned in drawing up some very strong papers against the government. He, and a distinguished lay member of the same sect, named Henry Hall, of Haughhead, lurked for some time about the shores of the Firth of Forth above Queensferry, till at length the episcopal minister of Carriden gave notice of them to the governor of Blackness, who, June 3d, set out in search of them. This officer having traced them to a public house in Queensferry, went in, and pretending a great deal of respect for Mr Cargill, begged to drink a glass of wine with him. He had, in the meantime, sent off his servant for a party of soldiers. The two fugitives had no suspicion of this man's purpose, till, not choosing to wait any longer for the arrival of his assistants, he attempted to take them prisoner. Hall made a stout resistance, but was mortally wounded with the dog-head of a carbine by one George, a waiter. Cargill, escaping in the struggle, though not without wounds, was received and concealed by a neighbouring farmer. He even fled to the south, and next Sunday, notwithstanding his wounds, he preached at Cairn-hill, near Loudoun. A paper of a very violent nature was found on the person of the deceased Mr Hall, and is generally understood to have proceeded from the pen of Mr Cargill. It is known in history by the title of the *QUEENSMARSH COWENANT*, from the place where it was found. Mr Cargill also appears to have been concerned with his friend Richard Cameron, in publishing the equally violent declaration at Sanquhar, on the 22nd of June. In the following September, this zealous divine proceeded to a still more violent measure against the existing powers. Having collected a large congregation in the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling, he preached from 1 Corinthians, verse 13, and then, without having previously consulted a single brother in the ministry, or any other individual of his party, he gave out the usual form of excommunication against the king, the duke of York, the dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Thomas Dalzell, of Binna. His general reasons were their exertions against the supremacy of the pure church of Scotland. The privy council felt that this assumption of ecclesiastical authority was not only calculated to bring contempt upon the eminent persons named, but tended to mark them out as proper objects for the vengeance of the ignorant multitude; and they accordingly took very severe measures against the offender. He was intercommuned, and a reward of 5000 merks offered for his apprehension. For several months he continued to exercise his functions as a minister when he could find a convenient opportunity; and many stories are told of hair-breadth escapes which he made on those occasions from the soldiers, and others sent in search of him. At length, in May, 1681, he was seized at Covington in Lanarkshire, by a person named Irving of Bonshaw, who carried him to Lanark on horseback, with his feet tied under the animal's belly. Soon after he was conducted to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where, on the 26th of July, he was tried and condemned to suffer death for high treason. He was next day hanged and beheaded, his last expressions being suitable in their piety to the tenor of his whole life. Cargill is thus described by Wodrow, who

by no means concurred with him in all his sentiments: "He was a person of a very deep and sharp exercise in his youth, and had a very extraordinary out-gate from it. Afterwards he lived a most pious and religious life, and was a zealous and useful minister, and of an easy sweet natural temper. And I am of opinion, the singular steps he took towards the end of his course were as much to be attributed unto his regard to the sentiments of others, for whom he had a value, as to his own inclinations."

CARLYLE, *Alexander*, an eminent divine, was born about the year 1721. His father was the minister of Prestonpans, and he received his education at the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Leyden. While he attended these schools of learning, the extreme elegance of his person, his manners, and his taste, introduced him to an order of society far above any in which such students as he generally mingle, and rendered him the favourite of men of science and literature. At the breaking out of the insurrection of 1745, he was an ardent youth of four-and-twenty, and thought proper to accept a commission in a troop of volunteers, which was raised at Edinburgh for the purpose of defending the city. This corps having been dissolved at the approach of the Highland army, he retired to his father's house at Prestonpans, where the tide of war, however, soon followed him. Sir John Cope having pitched his camp in the immediate neighbourhood of Prestonpans, the Highlanders attacked him early on the morning of the 21st of September, and soon gained a decided victory. Carlyle was awaked by an account that the armies were engaged, and hurried to the top of the village steeple in order to have a view of the action. He was just in time to see the regular soldiers flying in all directions to escape the broadswords of the enemy. This incident gave him some uneasiness on his own account, for there was reason to apprehend that the victors would not be over kind to one who had lately appeared in arms against them. He therefore retired in the best way he could to the manse of Bolton, some miles off, where he lived unmolested for a few days, after which he returned to the bosom of his own family. Having gone through the usual exercises prescribed by the church of Scotland, Mr Carlyle was presented, in 1747, to the living of Invercask, which was, perhaps, the best situation he could have obtained in the church, as the distance from Edinburgh was such as to make intercourse with metropolitan society very easy, while, at the same time, he enjoyed all the benefits of retirement and country leisure. From this period till the end of the century, the name of Dr Carlyle enters largely into the literary history of Scotland; he was the intimate associate of Hume, Home, Smith, Blair, and all the other illustrious men who flourished at this period. Unfortunately, though believed to possess talents fitting him to shine in the very highest walks of literature and intellectual science, he never could be prevailed upon to hazard himself in competition with his distinguished friends, but was content to lend to them the benefit of his assistance and critical advice in fitting their productions for the eye of the world. In his clerical character, Mr Carlyle was a zealous *moderate*; and when he had acquired some weight in the ecclesiastical courts, was the bold advocate of some of the strongest measures taken by the General Assembly for maintaining the standards of the church. In 1757, he himself fell under censure as an accomplice—if we may use such an expression—of Mr Home, in bringing forward the tragedy of Douglas. At the first private rehearsal of this play, Dr Carlyle enacted the part of Old Norval; and he was one of those clergymen who resolutely involved themselves in the evil fame of the author, by attending the first representation. During the run of the play, while the general public, on the one hand, was lost in admiration of its merits, and the church, on the other, was preparing its sharpest thunders of condemnation, Dr Carlyle published a burlesque pamphlet, enti-

itled, "Reasons why the Tragedy of Douglas should be burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman;" and, afterwards, he wrote another, calculated for the lower ranks, and which was hawked about the streets, under the title, "History of the Bloody Tragedy of Douglas, as it is now performed at the Theatre in the Canongate." Mr Mackenzie informs us, in his life of Home, that the latter pasquinade had the effect of adding two more nights to the already unprecedented run of the play. For this conduct Dr Carlyle was visited by his presbytery, with a censure and admonition. A person of right feeling in the present day is only apt to be astonished that the punishment was not more severe; for assuredly, it would be difficult to conceive any conduct so apt to be injurious to the usefulness of a clergyman as his thus mixing himself up with the impurities and buffooneries of the stage. The era of 1757 was perhaps somewhat different from the present. The serious party in the church were inconsiderately zealous in their peculiar mode of procedure, while the moderate party, on the principle of antagonism, erred as much on the side of what they called liberality. Hence, although the church would not now, perhaps, go to such a length in condemning the tragedy of Douglas, its author, and his abettors, neither would the provocation be now given. No clergyman could now be found to act like Home and Carlyle; and therefore the church could not be called upon to act in so ungracious a manner as it did towards those gentlemen. Dr Carlyle was a fond lover of his country, of his profession, and, it might be said, of all mankind. He was instrumental in procuring an exemption for his brethren from the severe pressure of the house and window tax, for which purpose he visited London and was introduced at court, where the elegance and dignity of his appearance are said to have excited both admiration and surprise. It was generally remarked that his noble countenance bore a striking resemblance to the Jupiter Tonans in the capitol. Smollett mentions in his *Humphrey Clinker*, a work in which fact and fancy are curiously blended, that he owed to Dr Carlyle his introduction to the literary circles of Edinburgh. After mentioning a list of celebrated names, he says, "These acquaintances I owe to the friendship of Dr Carlyle, who wants nothing but inclination to figure with the rest upon paper." It may be further mentioned, that the world owes the preservation of Collins' fine ode on the superstitions of the Highlands, to Dr Carlyle. The author, on his death-bed, had mentioned it to Dr Johnson as the best of his poems; but it was not in his possession, and no search had been able to discover a copy. At last, Dr Carlyle found it accidentally among his papers, and presented it to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the first volume of whose transactions it was published.

Dr Carlyle died, August 25, 1805, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his ministry. By his wife, who was a woman of superior understanding and accomplishments, he had had several children, all of whom died many years before himself. Dr Carlyle published nothing but a few sermons and *jeux d'esprit*, and the statistical account of the parish of Inveresk in Sir John Sinclair's large compilation; but he left behind him a very valuable memoir of his own time, which, to the surprise of the literary world, is still condemned by his relations to manuscript obscurity.

CARSTAIRS, WILLIAM, an eminent political and ecclesiastical character, was born at the village of Cathcart in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, on the 11th of February, 1649. His father was Mr John Carstairs, descended of a very ancient family in Fife, and minister in the high church of Glasgow, where he had for his colleague the Rev. James Durham, well known for his commentary on the Revelation and other learned and pious works. His mother's name was Jane Muir, of the family of Glanderston in the county of Renfrew. Giving early indications of an uncommon genius, young Carstairs was by his father



placed under the care of a Mr Sinclair, an indulged presbyterian minister, who at that time kept a school of great celebrity at Ormiston, a village in east Lothian. Under Mr Sinclair, in whose school, as in all schools of that kind at the time, and even in the family, no language but Latin was used, Carstairs acquired a perfect knowledge of that language, with great fluency of expressing himself in it, and a strong taste for classical learning in general. He had also the good fortune to form, among the sons of the nobility who attended this celebrated seminary, several friendships, which were of the utmost consequence to him in after life.

Having completed his course at the school, Mr Carstairs entered the college of Edinburgh in his nineteenth year, where he studied for four years under Mr, afterwards Sir William Paterson, who in later life became clerk to the privy council of Scotland. Under this gentleman he made great proficiency in the several branches of the school philosophy then in vogue; but the distracted state of the country determined his father to send him to study divinity in Holland, where many of his brethren, the persecuted ministers of the church of Scotland, had already found an asylum. He was accordingly entered in the university of Utrecht, where he studied Hebrew under Leusden and Divinity under Herman Witsius, at that time two of the most celebrated professors in Europe. He had also an opportunity, which he carefully improved, of attending the lectures of the celebrated Grævius, who was at this time in the vigour of his faculties and the zenith of his reputation. The study of theology, however, was what he made his main business, which having completed, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, but where or by whom seems not to have been known by any of his biographers. In all probability, it was by some of the *classes* of Holland. Being strongly attached to the presbyterian system, in which he had been educated, and for adherence to which his father was a sufferer at home, and himself in a limited sense a wanderer in a strange land, for it was to avoid the taking of unnecessary or unlawful oaths imposed by the bishops that he had been sent by his father to study at Utrecht, he naturally took a deep interest in the affairs of his native country, and was early engaged in deliberating upon the means of her deliverance. On sending him to Holland by the way of London, his father introduced him by letter to an eminent physician of that city, who kindly furnished him with a letter to the physician of the prince of Orange. This latter gentleman, upon the strength of his friend's recommendation, introduced Carstairs to the Pensionary Fogel, who finding him so much a master of every thing relative to the state of parties and interests in Great Britain, introduced him to a private interview with his master, the prince, who was at once struck with his easy and polite address, and with the extent of his political knowledge. This favourable opinion was heightened by subsequent interviews, and in a short time nothing of consequence was transacted at his court relative to Great Britain, till Carstairs had been previously consulted. Holland had, from the first attempts of the court after the Restoration to suppress the presbyterians, been the general resort of such of the Scottish clergy as found it impossible to retain their stations, and they were soon followed by numbers of their unhappy countrymen who had vainly perilled their lives on the fatal fields of Pentland and Bothwell, with the principal of whom Carstairs could not, in the circumstances in which he was placed, fail to become acquainted. Being well connected, and in no way obnoxious to the government, he seems to have been selected both by his expatriated countrymen and by the agents of the prince of Orange to visit Scotland on a mission of observation in the year 1682.

Nothing could be more hopeless than the condition of Scotland at this time.

Her ministers where every where silenced : Cargill and Cameron, the only two that remained of the intrepid band that had so long kept up the preached gospel in the fields, had both fallen, the one on the scaffold by an iniquitous sentence, the other on the open heath by the hand of violence. Her nobles were either the slaves of arbitrary royalty, or they had already expatriated themselves, or were just about to do so, while the body of her people, Isachar-like, were crouching beneath their burdens in the most hopeless dejection. Finding no encouragement in Scotland, where the few individuals that felt any of the true aspirations of liberty, were seriously engaged in a project for purchasing lands and transporting themselves, their families, and their friends to Carolina in North America, Mr Carstairs determined to return to Holland, where, under a rational and indulgent government, he had enjoyed a liberty which he found to his grief was not to be obtained at home. He, however, probably not without instructions, took London in his way, where he arrived in the month of November, 1682, at the very time when Shaftesbury, Monmouth, Sydney, Essex, Russell, Hampden, and Howard were engaged in what has been called Shaftesbury's plot, or more generally, from a forged story of a design to murder the king and the duke of York at a farm called the Rye, possessed by colonel Rumbold, the Ryehouse plot. These gentlemen were actuated by very different views. Monmouth had probably no object but the crown ; Russell and Hampden were for restraining the prerogative and securing the nation's liberties, civil and religious ; Sydney and Essex were for restoring the republic, while Howard, a man without principle, seems to have had nothing in view, but to raise a tumult, whereby he might by accident promote his private interest. All of them, however, agreed in soliciting the co-operation of those Scotsmen, who, no longer able to subsist under the impositions of a government whose sole object seemed to be not the protection, but the entire ruin of its subjects, were about to transport themselves to a distant and desert country. Most of the conspirators having some previous knowledge of Carstairs, he was employed to negotiate between the parties ; and he was empowered by a letter from Sir James Stewart, afterwards lord advocate for Scotland, to assure the English conspirators that, upon furnishing a certain sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition, the Scottish refugees in Holland were ready to co-operate with them by an immediate descent upon the west coast of Scotland. This letter he communicated to Russell and Sydney, seconding its contents by a fervent eulogium upon the influence, the talents, and the particular merits of Argyle, whose numerous vassals, extensive jurisdictions, as well as his past sufferings, pointed him out as the most proper person to head an insurrection in that country. All this must have been self-evident to the whole party ; yet they do not seem to have been so cordial as might have been expected. Though Carstairs ceased not to press the object of his mission, he was put off from time to time till he was at length told by Shepherd, an eminent wine-merchant in London, who was one of the subaltern conspirators, that he had heard Sydney declare that he would have nothing to do with Argyle, being well aware that, whatever his present circumstances might prompt him to undertake, he was too strongly attached to the reigning family and to the present government, both in church and state, to unite cordially with them in the measures they had determined to pursue. At the same time, he was told both by Shepherd and Ferguson that the party were jealous of Sydney as driving a secret design of his own, and Ferguson took the opportunity to hint to Mr Carstairs, that there might be an easier method of attaining their point than by an open rebellion, as by taking the lives of at most two men, they might spare the lives of thousands, evidently, hinting at what must have been spoken of among the inferior members of this

conspiracy, though certainly never among the higher, the assassination of the king and the duke of York. Feeling himself insulted, and the cause disgraced by such a proposal, Mr Carstairs told Ferguson, that he and the men with whom he was engaged, thought themselves warranted even with arms in their hands, to demand, for redress of their grievances, those constitutional remedies which had been so often denied to their complaints and remonstrances; but they held it beneath them, both as men and as Christians, to adopt any such mean and cowardly contrivances either against the king or his brother. From that time forward, Ferguson never mentioned any such thing in his presence, nor did he ever hear any such thing alluded to in his intercourse with any other of the party. Disgusted, however, with their procrastination he took his departure for Holland, without carrying any message, having refused to do so, except it were a full compliance with his demands.

Scarcely had he landed in Holland, than Shaftesbury found it convenient to follow him, not daring to trust himself any longer in England; and by his desertion, the remaining conspirators, finding their connection with the city of London, upon which they had placed great dependence, broken, saw it the more necessary to unite with Argyle and the refugees abroad, as well as with the Scots at home. Sydney now dropped all his objections, and letters were immediately forwarded to Carstairs, requesting him to come over, and an express was sent down to Scotland, for his friends to come up, in order to a speedy adjustment of every particular relative to the insurrection and consentaneous invasion. In consequence of this, consultations were held among the refugees, Argyle, Stair, Loudoun, Stewart, and others, where it was proposed that the conspirators in England should contribute thirty thousand pounds sterling in money, and one thousand horse, to be ready to join Argyle the moment he should land upon the west coast of Scotland. Mr Stewart was for accepting a smaller sum of money, if so much could not be obtained; but all agreed in the necessity of raising the horse before any thing should be attempted. Stair seemed more cold in the matter than the others; but Argyle having assured Carstairs that, so soon as the preliminaries were settled, he would be found abundantly zealous, he consented to carry their proposals and lay them before the committee or council, that had been by the conspirators appointed to conduct the business at London. When he arrived there, he was mortified to find that the difficulty of raising the money now was as formidable an obstacle as the opposition of Sydney had formerly been. Russell frankly acknowledged that the whole party could not raise so much money; and begged that ten thousand pounds might be accepted as a beginning, and even this was never paid to Shepherd, who was appointed cashier to the concern, nor was one single step taken for levying the proposed number of troops upon the borders. After having spent several weeks in London, fruitlessly prosecuting the business that had been entrusted to him, he became perfectly convinced from the temper of the men and their mode of procedure that the scheme would come to nothing. This opinion he communicated to a meeting of his countrymen, where were present Baillie of Jerviswood, lord Melvill, Sir John Cochrane, the Campbells of Cessnock, and others, recommending it to them to attend to their own safety, by putting an immediate stop to further preparations, till their brethren of England should be more forward, and better prepared to join them. Baillie of Jerviswood, the most ardent and decisive of all his countrymen who had engaged in this enterprise, reflected bitterly upon the timidity of the English, who had suffered their zeal to evaporate in talk, when they might, by promptitude of action, have been already in possession of the benefits they expected to derive

from the undertaking ; and insisted that the Scots should prosecute the undertaking by themselves. There was, no doubt, in this something very heroic ; but alas, it was vain, and he himself was speedily brought to confess that it was so. It was agreed to, however, by all, that a communication should be made to their English friends, that, unless they were determined to act with more vigour, they were not to expect co-operation on the part of the Scots any longer. In the meantime they wrote to their friends in Scotland, to suspend their preparations till further notice. This was a very proper and wise determination ; only it came too late. The English conspirators had no unity of purpose, and they had no decision. They had talked away the time of action ; and the whole scheme was already falling to pieces by its own weight. In short, before they could return an answer to their Scottish brethren, the whole was betrayed, and they were alone to a man in the hands of the government.

The prudence of the Scots saved them in part ; yet the government got immediate information, that there had been a correspondence carried on with Argyle by the conspirators, and Major Holmes, the person to whom all Argyle's letters were directed, was taken into custody, having a number of the letters, and the cypher and key in his possession. The cypher and key belonged to Mr Carstairs, who had sent it to Monmouth only two days before, to enable him to read a letter from Argyle, which having done, he returned it to Major Holmes, in whose hands it was now taken. The earl of Melfort no sooner saw the cypher than he knew part of it to be the handwriting of Carstairs, and an order was instantly issued for his apprehension, as art and part in the assassination plot. Though Mr Carstairs was conscious of being innocent as to this part of the plot, he had gone too far with the conspirators for an examination on the subject to be safe either for himself or his friends. He therefore assumed a fictitious name, and concealed himself among his friends in Kent the best way he could. Being discovered in this situation, he was suspected to be the notorious Ferguson, of all the conspirators the most obnoxious to government, and as such was seized in the house of a friend at Tenterden, and thrown into the jail of that place on the Monday after the execution of lord Russell. Here he continued for a fortnight, when orders came for his being brought up to London, where he was for some days committed to the charge of a messenger at arms. During this interval Sir Andrew Forrester brought him a message from the king informing him, that though his majesty was not disposed to believe that he had any direct hand in plotting either his death, or that of the duke of York ; yet as he had corresponded with Argyle and Russell, he was convinced that he knew many particulars relative to the Rye House plot, which if he would discover, with what he knew of any other machinations against the government, he would not only receive an ample pardon for the past, but the king would also show him all manner of favour for the time to come. If, however, he rejected this, he was to abide by the consequences, which, in all likelihood, would be fatal to him. His answer not proving satisfactory, he was committed to close custody in the Gatehouse, where he continued upwards of eleven weeks. During this time he was often before the privy council, but revealed nothing. At length, finding that he could obtain no favour through the king, but upon dishonourable conditions, he petitioned the court of king's bench for his *habeas corpus*, instead of which he received an intimation, that he was to be sent down to Scotland within twenty-four hours, to take his trial in that kingdom. It was in vain that he represented it as a breach of law to send him to be tried in Scotland for a crime said to be committed in England. He was sent off next day with several other of his friends, who were consigned into the hands of the Scottish privy council, to be tried for compassing the death of the king in London, or at the Rye

House, between London and Newmarket. Among that unhappy number was a servant of Argyle, of the name of Spence, who was instantly brought before that most abominable tribunal, the privy council of Scotland, where, because he refused to take an oath to criminate himself, he was first put to the torture of the boot, which he endured with unshrinking firmness; then kept from sleep upwards of nine nights together—which not answering the expectations that had been formed, steel screws were invented for his thumbs, which proved so exquisite a torment, that he sunk under it, the earl of Perth assuring him at the same time, that they would screw every joint of his body in the same manner till he took the oath. Even in this state, Spence had the firmness to stipulate, that no new questions should be put to him, that he should not be brought forward as a witness against any person, and that he himself should be pardoned. He then acquainted them with the names of Argyle's correspondents, and assisted them in decyphering the letters, by which it was seen what Argyle had demanded, and what he had promised to do upon his demands being granted; but there was nothing in them of any agreement being then made.

Carstairs, in the mean time, was laid in irons, and continued in them several weeks, Perth visiting him almost daily, to urge him to reveal what he knew, with promises of a full pardon, so far as he himself was concerned. On this point, however, Mr Carstairs was inflexible; and when brought before the council, the instruments of torture being laid before him, and he asked by the earl of Perth if he would answer upon oath such questions as should be put to him, he replied, with a firmness that astonished the whole council, that in a criminal matter he never would, but, if they produced his accusers, he was ready to vindicate himself from any crime they could lay to his charge. He was then assured, that if he would answer a few questions that were to be put to him concerning others, nothing he said should ever militate against himself, nor should they ever inquire, whether his disclosures were true or false; but he peremptorily told them, that with him, in a criminal cause, they should never found such a detestable precedent. To the very foolish question put to him, if he had any objections against being put to the torture, he replied, he had great objections to a practice that was a reproach to human nature, and as such banished from the criminal courts of every free country. Here he repeated the remonstrances he had given in to the council at London, and told them that he did consider his trial a breach of the *habeas corpus* act. To this Perth replied, that he was now in Scotland, and must be tried for crimes committed against the state by the laws of that country, had they been committed at Constantinople. The executioner was now brought forward, and a screw of a particular construction applied to his thumb with such effect, that large drops of sweat streamed over his brow. Yet he was self-possessed, and betrayed no inclination to depart from his first resolution. The earl of Queensberry was much affected, and after telling Perth that he saw the poor man would rather die than confess, he ran out of the council, followed by the duke of Hamilton, both being unable longer to witness the scene. Perth sat to the last without betraying any symptoms of compassion for the sufferer. On the contrary, when by his express command the executioner had turned the screw with such violence as to make Carstairs cry out, that now he had squeezed the bones to pieces, the monster, in great indignation, told him that if he continued longer obstinate, he hoped to see every bone in his body squeezed to pieces. Having kept their victim under this cruel infliction for an hour and a half without effect, the executioner was ordered to produce the iron boots, and apply them to his legs; but, happily for Mr Carstairs, the executioner, young at his trade, and composed of less stern stuff than his masters, was so confused that he could not

fix them on. After repeated attempts, he was obliged to give it up, and the council adjourned.

Torture having thus proved vain, the council once more assailed him in the way of flattery, promising him an ample pardon for himself, and that he should never be called in any court as a witness on any trial, and they further stipulated, that none of his answers to the interrogatories to be put to him, should ever be produced in evidence, either directly or indirectly, in any court, or against any person whatsoever. On these conditions, as they had already extracted from Mr Spence and Major Holmes, nearly all that he could inform them of upon the stipulated questions, he consented to answer them, provided the promise made him was ratified by a deed of court, and recorded in their books. He had, however, scarcely given his answers, when they were printed and hawked through the streets, under the name of Carstairs' Confession. Had they been printed correctly, less might have been said; but they were garbled to suit the purpose of the ruling party, which was to criminate Jerviswood, on whose trial Mackenzie the advocate read them to the jury as an *admission* of proof, without taking any notice of the qualifications with which they were clothed, the alleviating circumstances with which the facts to which they related were accompanied, or the conditions upon which he delivered them. They were so far true to their agreement, however, as to relieve him from his confinement in a dungeon of the castle, where he had remained for some months cut off from all communication with his friends, and struggling under the infirmities of a shattered constitution. He was also permitted to leave Scotland, on condition that he should wait on the secretaries at London, on his way to Holland. Milport being then at court, he went to him and demanded a pass, which he found no difficulty in obtaining; but the king was desirous to see him, and the secretary thought he ought in duty to wait upon him, and receive his commands. On stating, however, that, in such a conversation with the king, he might be led to say what might not be so honourable to some of his majesty's servants in Scotland, the secretary made out his pass, and he departed for Holland, where he arrived in the end of the year 1684, or the beginning of 1685, only a few months before the death of Charles II., and the accession of James VII.

This was by far the most important event in the life of Carstairs, and it is impossible to say how much the human race may be indebted to his firmness and his address on this occasion. He had, at this very time, secrets of the greatest consequence from Holland, trusted to him by the pensionary Fogel, of which his persecutors had no suspicion. The discovering of these secrets would not only have saved him from torture, but would undoubtedly have brought him a high reward, and, had they been at that time discovered, the glorious revolution might have been prevented, and these kingdoms, instead of being the first and most exalted, as they are at this day, been among the lowest and most debased of nations. The great anxiety the Scottish managers were under to take the life of Baillie, by implicating him in the Rye House plot, seems so totally to have blinded them, that they had no suspicion of the Dutch connection, which Carstairs was so apprehensive about, and which he was so successful in concealing. On his return to Holland, William, fully appreciating his merits, received him into his family, appointed him one of his own chaplains, and at the same time procured him to be elected minister of the English protestant congregation at Leyden. To the day of his death William reposed upon the advice of Carstairs with the most perfect confidence. He was now, indeed, much better qualified than ever for being serviceable to his illustrious patron. During his stay in Britain he had had a fair opportunity of judging of public men and public measures. He had not only witnessed in others, but he had felt himself, the

severities of a popish administration ; and he saw the universal alienation of all ranks from the system of government they had adopted, and perceived that the very methods fallen upon for stilling popular clamour was only tending to its increase. The narrow politics of the duke of York he had thoroughly penetrated, was aware of all the schemes he had laid for enslaving the nation, and saw that the tools with which he was working could easily be turned to his own destruction. Of all these interesting particulars he was admitted to give his sentiments freely to the prince of Orange, who was no longer at pains to conceal his aversion to the means James was employing to restore the Catholic church. This encouraged still greater numbers of suffering British subjects to place themselves under his protection, and for the characters of these new comers his Royal Highness generally applied to Carstairs, and he was wont to remark, that he never in one instance had occasion to charge him with the smallest attempt to mislead or deceive him. It cannot indeed be doubted that he was made the channel of many complaints and advices to William, which were never made known to the public. Of these secret warnings the prince had sagacity enough to make the best use, even when he was to outward appearance treating them with neglect, and Carstairs himself was in all probability not a little surprised when he was summoned to attend him on an expedition to Great Britain. Notwithstanding all that has been spoken and written and printed about it, we believe that William felt very little, and cared very little about the sufferings of the British people ; but he had an eye steadily fixed upon the British crown, to which, till the birth of a prince of Wales, June 10th, 1688, his wife was the heir apparent, and so long as he had the prospect of a natural succession, whatever might be the disorders of the government or the wishes of the people, he was not disposed to endanger his future greatness by any thing like a premature attempt to secure it. The birth of the prince, however, gave an entirely new aspect to his affairs. He behoved now to fix upon the disorders of the government, and embrace the call of the people, or abandon all reasonable hopes of ever wearing that diadem which he so fondly coveted, and by which alone he could ever hope to carry into effect those mighty plans of policy with which his mind had been so long pregnant. Equally wise to discern and prompt to act, he lost not a moment in idle hesitation ; but while he seemed to discourage all the invitations he was now daily receiving, hastened to complete his preparations, and on the 19th of October, 1688, set sail for the shore of Britain with sixty-five ships of war, and five hundred transports, carrying upwards of fifteen thousand men. The subject of this memoir accompanied him as his domestic chaplain aboard his own ship, and he had in his train a numerous retinue of British subjects, whom the tyranny of the times had compelled to take refuge in Holland. On the evening of the same day, the fleet was dispersed in a tremendous hurricane, and by the dawn of next morning not two of the whole fleet were to be seen together. On the third day William returned to port, with only four ships of war and forty transports. The ship in which he himself sailed narrowly escaped being wrecked, which was looked on by some about him as an evil omen, and among the rest by Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who remarked that it seemed predestined they should not set foot on English ground. A few days, however, collected the whole fleet once more, and on the 1st of November, the whole sailed again with a fair wind, and on Monday the 5th, the troops were safely landed at Torbay in Devonshire, the English fleet all the while lying wind-bound at Harwich. On the landing of the troops, Mr Carstairs performed divine service at their head, after which the whole army drawn up along the beach sang the 118th psalm before going into a camp. From this time till the settlement of the crowns upon William and Mary, Car-

stairs continued about the person of the prince, being consulted and employed in negotiating affairs of peculiar delicacy, and disposing of sums of money with which he was entrusted, in various quarters. "It was during this interval," says his biographer, and the editor of his state papers, the Rev. Joseph McCormick, "that he had it in his power to be of the greatest service to the prince of Orange, nothing being carried on relative to the settlement of Scotland which the prince did not communicate to him, and permit him to give his sentiments of in private." He was highly instrumental in procuring the settlement of the church of Scotland in its present presbyterian form; which was found to be a matter of no small difficulty, as the king was anxious that the same system should continue in both parts of the island. Carstairs has been often blamed for having acceded to the king's wishes for maintaining patronage, and also for recommending that some of the worst instruments of the late monarch should be continued in office, which he did upon the plea that most of them were possessed of influence and qualifications, which, if properly directed, might be useful under the new régime. It must be recollected, that, at such a critical time, a man of Carstairs' political sagacity was apt to be guided rather by what was practically expedient than what was abstractly proper. It is probable that Carstairs, who was unquestionably a sincere man, was anxious to render the settlement of the church and of the government as liberal as he thought consistent with their stability, or as the circumstances he had to contend against would permit. King William now took an opportunity of atoning to his counsellor for all his former sufferings; he appointed Mr Carstairs his chaplain for Scotland, with the whole revenue of the Chapel Royal. He also required the constant presence of Mr Carstairs about his person, assigning him apartments in the palace when at home, and when abroad with the army allowing him £500 a year for camp equipage.

He was of course with his majesty at all times, and by being thus always at hand was enabled on some occasions, to do signal service both to his king and his country. Of this we have a remarkable instance, which happened in the year 1694. In 1693, the Scottish parliament had passed an act, obliging all who were in office to take the oath of allegiance to their majesties, and at the same time to sign the assurance, as it was called, whereby they declared William to be king *de jure* as well as *de facto*. This was one of the first of a long series of oppressive acts, intended secretly to ruin the Scottish church, by bringing her into collision with the civil authorities, and in the end depriving her of that protection and countenance which she now enjoyed from them. This act had been artfully carried through the parliament by allowing a dispensing power to the privy council in cases where no known enmity to the king's prerogative existed. No honest presbyterian at that time had any objection to king William's title to the crown; but they had insuperable objections to the taking of a civil oath, as a qualification for a sacred office. Numerous applications were of course made to the privy council for dispensations; but that court which had still in it a number of the old persecutors, so far from complying with the demand, recommended to his majesty, to allow no one to sit down in the ensuing general assembly till he had taken the oath and signed the assurance. Orders were accordingly transmitted to lord Carmichael, the commissioner to the assembly to that effect. When his lordship arrived in Edinburgh, however, he found the clergy obstinately determined to refuse compliance with his demand, and they assured him it would kindle a flame over the nation which it would surpass the power of those who had given his majesty this pernicious council to extinguish. Lord Carmichael, firmly attached to his majesty, and aware that the dissolution of this assembly might not only be fatal to the church



of Scotland, but to the interests of his majesty in that country, sent a flying packet to the king, representing the difficulty, and requesting further instructions. Some of the ministers at the same time wrote a statement of the case to Carstairs, requesting his best offices in the matter. Lord Carmichael's packet arrived at Kensington on a forenoon in the absence of Mr Carstairs, and William, who, when he could do it with safety, was as fond of stretching the prerogative as any of his predecessors, with the advice of the trimming lord Stair and the infamous Tarbet, both of whom being with him at the time, calumniously represented the refusal on the part of the clergy to take the oaths, as arising from disaffection to his majesty's title and authority, peremptorily renewed his instructions to the commissioner, and despatched them for Scotland without a moment's delay.

Scarcely was this done, when Carstairs arrived; and learning the nature of the despatch that had been sent for Scotland, hastened to find the messenger before his final departure, and having found him, demanded back the packet, in his majesty's name. It was now late in the evening; but no time was to be lost; so he ran straight to his majesty's apartment, where he was told by the lord in waiting that his majesty was in bed. Carstairs, however, insisted on seeing him; and, being introduced to his chamber, found him fast asleep. He turned aside the curtain, and gently awakened him; the king, astonished to see him at so late an hour, and on his knees by his bedside, asked, with some emotion, what was the matter. "I am come," said Carstairs, "to beg my life!" "Is it possible," said the king, with still higher emotion, "that you can have been guilty of a crime that deserves death?" "I have, Sire," he replied, showing the packet he had just brought back from the messenger. "And have you, indeed," said the king, with a severe frown, "presumed to countermand my orders?" "Let me be heard but for a few moments," said Carstairs, "and I am ready to submit to any punishment your majesty shall think proper to inflict." He then pointed out very briefly the danger of the advice he had acted upon, and the consequences that would necessarily follow if it was persisted in, to which his majesty listened with great attention. When he had done, the king gave him the despatches to read, after which he ordered him to throw them into the fire, and draw out others to please himself, which he would sign. This was done accordingly; but so many hours' delay prevented the messenger from reaching Edinburgh, till the very morning when the assembly was to meet; when nothing but confusion was expected; the commissioner finding himself under the necessity of dissolving the assembly, and the ministers being determined to assert their own authority independent of the civil magistrate. Both parties were apprehensive of the consequences, and both were happily relieved by the arrival of the messenger with his majesty's letter, signifying that it was his pleasure that the oaths should be dispensed with. With the exception of the act establishing presbytery, this was the most popular act of his majesty's government in Scotland. It also gained Mr Carstairs, when his part of it came to be known, more credit with his brethren and with presbyterians in general, than perhaps any other part of his public procedure. From this period, down to the death of the king, there is nothing to be told concerning Carstairs, but that he continued still in favour, and was assiduously courted by all parties; and was supposed to have so much influence, particularly in what related to the church, that he was called **CARDINAL CARSTAIRS**.

Having only the letters that were addressed to him, without any of his replies, we can only conjecture what these may have been. The presumption is, that they were prudent and discreet. Though he was so great a favourite with William, there was no provision made for him at his death. Anne, however,

though she gave him no political employment, continued him in the chaplainship for Scotland, with the same revenues he had enjoyed under her predecessor. In the year 1704, he was elected principal of the college of Edinburgh, for which he drew up a new and very minute set of rules; and, as he was wanted to manage affairs in the church courts, he was, at the same time, (at least in the same year,) presented to the church of Greyfriars; and, in consequence of uniting this with his office in the university, he was allowed a salary of 2200 merks a year. Three years after this he was translated to the High Church. Though so deeply immersed in politics, literature had always engaged much of Carstairs' attention; and he had, so early as 1693, obtained a gift from the crown to each of the Scottish universities, of three hundred pounds sterling per annum, out of the bishops' rents in Scotland. Now that he was more closely connected with these learned bodies, he exerted all his influence with the government to extend its encouragement and protection towards them, and thus essentially promoted the cause of learning. It has indeed been said, that from the donations he at various times procured for the Scottish colleges, he was the greatest benefactor, under the rank of royalty, to those institutions, that his country ever produced. The first General Assembly that met after he became a minister of the church of Scotland, made choice of him for moderator; and in the space of eleven years, he was four times called to fill that office. From his personal influence and the manner in which he was supported, he may be truly said to have had the entire management of the church of Scotland. In leading the church he displayed great ability and comprehensiveness of mind, with uncommon judgment. "He moderated the keenness of party zeal, and infused a spirit of cautious mildness into the deliberations of the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup> As the great body of the more zealous clergy were hostile to the union of the kingdoms, it required all his influence to reconcile them to a measure, which he, as a whole, approved of, as of mutual benefit to the two countries; and although, after this era, the church of Scotland lost much of her weight in the councils of the kingdom, she still retained her respectability, and perhaps was all the better of a disconnection with political affairs. When queen Anne, among the last acts of her reign, restored the system of patronage, he vigorously opposed it; and, though unsuccessful, his visit to London at that time was of essential service in securing on a stable basis the endangered liberty of the church. The ultra-tory ministry, hostile to the protestant interests of these realms, had devised certain strong measures for curtailing the power of the church of Scotland, by discontinuing her assemblies, or, at least, by subjecting them wholly to the nod of the court. Mr Carstairs prevailed on the administration to abandon the attempt; and he, on his part, promised to use all his influence to prevent the discontents occasioned by the patronage bill from breaking out into open insurrection. It may be remarked, that, although patronage is a privilege which, if harshly exercised, acts as a severe oppression upon the people; yet, while justified so far in abstract right, by the support which the patron is always understood to give to the clergyman, it was, to say the least of it, more expedient to be enforced at the commencement of last century than perhaps at present, as it tended to reconcile to the church many of the nobility and gentry of the country, who were, in general, votaries of episcopacy, and therefore disaffected to the state and to the general interests."

Principal Carstairs was, it may be supposed, a zealous promoter of the succession of the house of Hanover. Of so much importance were his services deemed, that George I., two years before his accession, signified his acknow-

<sup>1</sup> We here quote from a memoir of Principal Carstairs, which appeared in the Christian Instructor, for March, 1827.

ledgments by a letter, and, immediately after arriving in England, renewed his appointment as chaplain for Scotland. The last considerable duty upon which the Principal was engaged, was a mission from the Scottish church to congratulate the first prince of the house of Brunswick upon his accession. He did not long survive this period. In August, 1715, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off about the end of the December following, in the 67th year of his age. His body lies interred in the Greyfriars' churchyard, where a monument is erected to his memory, with a suitable inscription in Latin. The university, the clergy, and the nation at large, united in lamenting the loss of one of their brightest ornaments, and most distinguished benefactors.

Carstairs was one of the most remarkable men ever produced by this country. He appears to have been born with a genius for managing great political undertakings; his father, in one of his letters, expresses a fear lest his "*boy Willie*" should become too much of a *public political* man, and get himself into scrapes. His first move in public life was for the emancipation of his country from tyrannical misrule; and nothing could well equal the sagacity with which he conducted some of the most delicate and hazardous enterprises for that purpose. In consequence of the triumph of the principles which he then advocated, he became possessed of more real influence in the state than has fallen to the lot of many responsible ministers; so that the later part of his life presented the strangest contrast to the earlier part. What is strangest of all, he preserved through these vicissitudes of fortune the same humble spirit and simple worth, the same zealous and sincere piety, the same amiable and affectionate heart. It fell to the lot of Carstairs to have it in his power to do much good; and nothing could be said more emphatically in his praise, than that he improved every opportunity. The home and heart of Carstairs were constantly alike open. The former was the resort of all orders of good men; the latter was alive to every beneficent and kindly feeling. It is related of him, that, although perhaps the most efficient enemy which the episcopal church of Scotland ever had, he exercised perpetual deeds of charity towards the unfortunate ministers of that communion who were displaced at the revolution. The effect of his generosity to them in overcoming prejudice and conciliating affection, appeared strongly at his funeral. When his body was laid in the dust, two men were observed to turn aside from the rest of the company, and, bursting into tears, bewailed their mutual loss. Upon inquiry, it was found that these were two non-jurant clergymen, whose families had been supported for a considerable time by his benefactions.

In the midst of all his greatness, Carstairs never forgot the charities of domestic life. His sister, who had been married to a clergyman in Fife, lost her husband a few days before her brother arrived from London on matters of great importance to the nation. Hearing of his arrival, she came to Edinburgh to see him. Upon calling at his lodgings in the forenoon, she was told he was not at leisure, as several of the nobility and officers of state were gone in to see him. She then bid the servant only whisper to him, that she desired to know when it would be convenient for him to see her. He returned for answer—*immediately*; and, leaving the company, ran to her and embraced her in the most affectionate manner. Upon her attempting to make some apology for her unseasonable interruption to business, "Make yourself easy," said he, "these gentlemen are come hither, not on my account, but their own. They will wait with patience till I return. You know I never pray long,"—and, after a short, but fervent prayer, adapted to her melancholy circumstances, he fixed the time when he could see her more at leisure; and returned in tears to his company.

The close attention which he must have paid to politics does not appear to

have injured his literature any more than his religion, though it perhaps prevented him from committing any work of either kind to the press. We are told that his first oration in the public hall of the university, after his installation as principal, exhibited so much profound erudition, so much acquaintance with classical learning, and such an accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue, that his hearers were delighted, and the celebrated Dr Pitcairn declared, that when Mr Carstairs began his address, he could not help fancying himself in the forum of ancient Rome. In the strange mixed character which he bore through life, he must have corresponded with men of all orders; but, unfortunately, there is no collection of his letters known to exist. A great number of letters addressed to him by the most eminent men of his time, were preserved by his widow, and conveyed through her executor to his descendant, Principal M'Cormick, of St Andrews, by whom they were published in the year 1774.

CHAMBERS, DAVID, a distinguished historical and legal writer, of the sixteenth century, was a native of Ross-shire, and generally styled "of Ormond" in that county. He received his education in the laws and theology at Aberdeen college, and afterwards pursued his studies in the former branch of knowledge in France and Italy. The earliest date ascertained in his life is his studying at Bologna under Marianus Sozenus in 1556. Soon after, returning to his native country, he assumed the clerical offices of parson of Study and chancellor of the diocese of Ross. His time, however, seems to have been devoted to the legal profession, which was not then incompatible with the clerical, as has already been remarkably shown in the biography of his contemporary and friend Sir James Balfour. In 1564, he was elevated to the bench by his patroness Queen Mary, to whose fortunes he was faithfully attached through life. He was one of the high legal functionaries, entrusted at this time with the duty of compiling and publishing the acts of the Scottish parliament. The result of the labours of these men was a volume, now known by the title of "the Black Acts," from the letter in which it is printed. While thus engaged in ascertaining the laws of his country, and diffusing a knowledge of them among his countrymen, he became concerned in one of the basest crimes which the whole range of Scottish history presents. Undeterred either by a regard to fundamental morality, or, what sometimes has a stronger influence over men, a regard to his high professional character, he engaged in the conspiracy for destroying the queen's husband, the unfortunate Darnley. After that deed was perpetrated, a placard was put up by night on the door of the tolbooth, or hall of justice, which publicly denounced lord Ormond as one of the guilty persons. "I have made inquisition," so ran this anonymous accusation, "for the slaughter of the king, and do find the earl of Bothwell, Mr James Balfour, parson of Fliak, Mr David Chambers, and black Mr John Spence, the principal devysers thereof." It affords a curious picture of the times, that two of these men were judges, while the one last mentioned was one of the two crown advocates, or public prosecutors, and actually appeared in that character at the trial of his accomplice Bothwell. There is matter of further surprise in the partly clerical character of Balfour and Chambers. The latter person appears to have experienced marks of the queen's favour almost immediately after the murder of her husband. On the 19th of April, he had a ratification in parliament of the lands of Ochteralo and Castleton. On the ensuing 12th of May, he sat as one of the lords of Session, when the queen came forward to absolve Bothwell from all guilt he might have incurred, by the constraint under which he had recently placed her. He also appears in a seditious privy council held on the 22d of May. But after this period, the fortunes of his mistress experienced a

strange overthrow, and Chambers, unable to protect himself from the wrath of the ascendant party, found it necessary to take refuge in Spain.

He here experienced a beneficent protection from king Philip, to whom he must have been strongly recommended by his faith, and probably also the transactions in which he had lately been engaged. Subsequently retiring to France, he published in 1572, "*Histoire Abrégée de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre, et Ecosse,*" which he dedicated to Henry III. His chief authority in this work was the fabulous narrative of Boeca. In 1579, he published other two works in the French language, "*La Recherche des singularités les plus remarquables concernant l'Estat d'Ecosse,*" and "*Discours de la legitime succession des femmes aux possessions des leurs parens, et du gouvernement des princesses aux empires et royaume.*" The first is a panegyric upon the laws, religion, and valour of his native country—all of which, a modern may be inclined to think, he had already rendered the reverse of illustrious by his own conduct. The second work is a vindication of the right of succession of females, being in reality a compliment to his now imprisoned mistress, to whom it was dedicated. In France, Chambers was a popular and respected character; and he testified his own predilection for the people by selecting their language for his compositions against the fashion of the age, which would have dictated an adherence to the classic language of ancient Rome. Dempster gives his literary character in a few words—"vir multæ et variæ lectionis, nec inamœni ingenii," a man of much and varied reading, and of not unkindly genius." He was, to use the quaint phrase of Mackenzie, who gives a laborious dissection of his writings, "well seen in the Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish languages."

On the return of quieter times, this strange mixture of learning and political and moral guilt returned to his native country, where, so far from being called to account by the easy James for his concern in the murder of his father, he was, in the year 1586, restored to the bench, in which situation he continued till his death in November 1592.

Another literary character, of the same name and the same faith, lived in the immediately following age. He was the author of a work intitled "*Davidis Camerarii Scoti, de Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate Libri Quatuor,*" which appeared at Paris, in small quarto, in 1631, and is addressed by the author in a flattering dedication to Charles I. The volume contains a complete calendar of the saints connected with Scotland, the multitude of whom is apt to astonish a modern protestant.

CHALMERS, GEORGE, an eminent antiquary and general writer, was born in the latter part of the year 1742, at Fochabers, in Banffshire, being a younger son of the family of Pittensear, in that county. He was educated, first at the grammar-school of Fochabers, and afterwards at king's college, Aberdeen, where he had for his preceptor the celebrated Dr Reid, author of the *Enquiry into the Human Mind*. Having studied law at Edinburgh, Mr Chalmers removed, in his twenty-first year (1763), to America, as companion to his uncle, who was proceeding thither for the purpose of recovering some property in Maryland. Being induced to settle as a lawyer in Baltimore, he soon acquired considerable practice, and, when the celebrated question arose respecting the payment of tithes to the church, he appeared on behalf of the clergy, and argued their cause with great ability, against Mr Patrick Henry, who subsequently became so conspicuous in the war of independence. He was not only defeated in this cause, but was obliged, as a marked royalist, to withdraw from the country. In England, to which he repaired in 1755, his sufferings as a loyalist at last recommended him to the government, and he was, in 1786, appointed to the respectable situation of

clerk to the Board of Trade. The duties of this office he continued to execute, with diligence and ability, for the remainder of his life, a period of thirty-nine years.

Before and after his appointment, he distinguished himself by the composition of various elaborate and useful works, of which, as well as of all his subsequent writings, the following is a correct chronological list:—1. "The Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763," of which the first volume appeared in quarto, in 1780: the second was never published. 2. Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the present and four preceding reigns, 1782. 3. Opinions on interesting subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy; arising from American Independence, 1784, 8vo. 4. Life of Daniel Defoe, prefixed to an edition of the History of the Union, London, 1786; and of Robinson Crusoe, 1790. 5. Life of Sir John Davies, prefixed to his Historical Tracts regarding Ireland, 1786, 8vo. 6. Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, 1790, 2 vols. 8vo. 7. Life of Thomas Paine, 1793, 8vo. 8. Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M., 1794, 8vo. 9. Prefatory Introduction to Dr Johnson's Debates in Parliament, 1794, 8vo. 10. Vindication of the Privilege of the People in respect to the constitutional right of free discussion; with a Retrospect of various proceedings relative to the Violation of that Right, 1796, 8vo. (An Anonymous Pamphlet.) 11. Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk street, 1797, 8vo. 12. A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers, being a reply to Mr Malone's Answer, &c., 1799, 8vo. 13. Appendix to the Supplemental Apology; being the documents for the opinion that Hugh Boyd wrote Junius's Letters, 1800, 8vo. 14. Life of Allan Ramsay, prefixed to an edition of his Poems, 1800, 2 vols., 8vo. 15. Life of Gregory King, prefixed to his observations on the state of England in 1696, 1804, 8vo. 16. The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, with a Life of the Author, prefatory dissertations, and an appropriate glossary, 1806, 3 vols., 8vo. 17. Caledonia, &c., vol. i., 1807, 4to; vol. ii., 1810; vol. iii., 1824. 18. A Chronological Account of Commerce and Coinage in Great Britain, from the Restoration till 1810, 1810, 8vo. 19. Considerations on Commerce, Bullion and Coin, Circulation and Exchanges; with a view to our present circumstances, 1811, 8vo. 20. An Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest to the Present Times, (a new and extended edition of the Compare Estimate,) Edinburgh, 1812, 8vo. 21. Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on various points of English jurisprudence, chiefly concerning the Colonies, Fisheries, and Commerce of Great Britain, 1814, 2 vols., 8vo. 22. A Tract (privately printed) in answer to Malone's Account of Shakspeare's Tempest, 1815, 8vo. 23. Comparative Views of the State of Great Britain before and since the war, 1817, 8vo. 24. The Author of Junius ascertained, from a concatenation of circumstances amounting to moral demonstration, 1817, 8vo. 25. Churchyard's Chips concerning Scotland; being a Collection of his Pieces regarding that Country, with notes and a life of the author, 1817, 8vo. 26. Life of Queen Mary, drawn from the State Papers, with six subsidiary memoirs, 1818, 2 vols., 4to; reprinted in 3 vols., 8vo. 27. The Poetical Reviews of some of the Scottish kings, now first collected, 1824, 8vo. 28. Robene and Makyne, and the Testament of Cresseid, by Robert Henryson, edited as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, of which Mr Chalmers was a member; Edinburgh, 1824. 29. A Detection of the Love-Letters lately attributed in Hugh Campbell's work to Mary, Queen of Scots, 1825, 8vo. All these works, unless in the few instances mentioned, were published in London.

The author's "Caledonia" astonished the world with the vast extent of its erudition and research. It professes to be an account, historical and topographical, of North Britain, from the most ancient to the present times; and the original intention of the author was, that it should be completed in four volumes, quarto, each containing nearly a thousand pages. Former historians had not presumed to inquire any further back into Scottish history than the reign of Canmore, describing all before that time as obscurity and fable, as Strabo, in his maps, represents the inhabitants of every place which he did not know as Ichthyophagi. But George Chalmers was not contented to start from this point. He plunged fearlessly into the middle ages, and was able, by dint of incredible research, to give a pretty clear account of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island since the Roman conquest. The pains which he must have taken, in compiling information for this work, are almost beyond belief—although he tells us in his preface that it had only been the amusement of his evenings. The remaining three volumes were destined to contain a topographical and historical account of each county, and the second of these completed his task so far as the Lowlands were concerned, when death stepped in, and arrested the busy pen of the antiquary, May 31, 1825.

As a writer, George Chalmers does not rank high in point of elegance of style; but the solid value of his matter is far more than sufficient to counterbalance both that defect, and a certain number of prejudices by which his labours are otherwise a little deformed. Besides the works which we have mentioned, he was the author of some of inferior note, including various political pamphlets on the Tory side of the question.

CHAPMAN, DR. GEORGE, an eminent teacher and respectable writer on education, was born in the parish of Alvale, Banffshire, in August, 1723. He studied at Aberdeen, and taught successively in Dalkeith, Dumfries, and Banff. He finally removed to Edinburgh, where he carried on business as a printer. He died February 22d, 1806. Dr Chapman's Treatise on Education appeared in 1782; a work of great practical utility.

CHARLES I., king of Great Britain, was the second son of James VI. of Scotland, and First of Great Britain, by Anne, daughter of Frederick II., king of Denmark and Norway. Charles was born at Dunfermline palace, which was the dotarial or jointure house of his mother the queen, on the 19th of November, 1600, being the very day on which the earl of Gowry and his brother were publicly dismembered at the cross of Edinburgh, for their concern in the celebrated conspiracy. King James remarked with surprise that the principal incidents of his own personal and domestic history had taken place on this particular day of the month: he had been born, he said, on the 19th of June; he first saw his wife on the 19th of May; and his two former children, as well as this one, had been born on the 19th day of different months. Charles was only two years and a half old when his father was called up to England to fill the throne of Elizabeth. The young prince was left behind, in charge of the earl of Dunfermline, but joined his father in July, 1603, along with his mother and the rest of the royal family. Being a very weakly child, and not likely to live long, the honour of keeping him, which in other circumstances would have been eagerly sought, was bandied about by the courtiers, and with some difficulty was at length accepted by Sir Robert Carey and his wife. This was the gentleman who hurried, with such mean alacrity, to inform king James of the demise of his cousin Elizabeth, from whom, in life, he had received as many favours as he could now hope for from her successor. Carey tells us in his own Memoirs, that the legs of the child were unable to support him, and that the king had some thoughts of mending the matter by a pair of iron boots, from which, how-

ever, he was dissuaded. At his baptism, December 23, 1600, Charles had received the titles of duke of Albany, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ross, and lord Ardmanach. He was now, January 1605, honoured with the second title of the English royal family—duke of York.

King James, whatever may have been the frivolity of his character in some respects, is undeniably entitled to the credit of having carefully educated his children. Prince Henry, the elder brother, and also Charles, were proficient in English, Latin, and French, at an amazingly early age. Although, from their living in separate houses, he did not see them often, he was perpetually writing them instructive and encouraging letters, to which they replied, by his desire, in language exclusively supplied by themselves. The king was also in the habit of sending many little presents to his children. "Sweete, sweete father," says Charles, in an almost infantine epistle, yet preserved in the Advocates' Library, "I learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing. I thank you for my *best man*. Your loving son, YORK." The character of Charles was mild, patient, and serious, as a child is apt to be who is depressed by ill health, or an inability to take a share in youthful sports. His brother Henry, who was nearly seven years his senior, and of more robust character, one day seized the cap of archbishop Abbot, which he put upon Charles' head, telling him, at the same time, that when he was king, he would make him archbishop of Canterbury. Henry dying in November 1612, left a brighter prospect open before his younger brother, who, in 1616, was formally created prince of Wales. At this splendid ceremony the queen could not venture to appear, lest the sight should renew her grief for the amiable Henry, whom she had seen go through the same solemnity only a short time before his death. As he grew up towards manhood, Charles gradually acquired strength, so that at twenty he was well skilled in manly exercises, and accounted the best rider of the great horse in his father's dominions. His person was slender, and his face—but the majestic melancholy of that face is too deeply impressed on every mind to require description. It was justly accounted very strange that the marquis of Buckingham, the frivolous favourite of king James, should have become equally agreeable to the grave temperament of the prince of Wales. Charles was perpetually in the company of that gay courtier, and the king used to consider them both as his children. He always addressed the prince by the epithet "Baby Charles," and in writing to Buckingham, he as invariably subscribed himself as "his dear dad." James had high abstract notions as to the rank of those who should become the wives of princes. He considered the sacred character of a king degraded by a union with one under his own rank. While his parliament, therefore, wished him to match his son to some small German princess, who had the advantage of being a good protestant, he contemplated wedding him to the grand-daughter of Charles V., the sister of the reigning king of Spain. Both James and Charles had a sincere sense of the errors of Rome; but the fatality of matching with a Catholic princess was not then an established maxim in English policy, which it is to be hoped it ever will be in this realm. It was also expected that the Spanish monarch would be instrumental in procuring a restoration of the Palatinate of the Rhine for the son-in-law of the king of Great Britain, who had lost it in consequence of his placing himself at the head of the Bohemians, in a rebellion against the emperor of Germany. The earl of Bristol, British ambassador at Madrid, was carrying on negotiations for this match, when Charles, with the romantic feeling of youth, resolved to travel into Spain, and woo the young princess in person. In February 1623, he set out with the marquis of Buckingham, and only two other attendants, himself bearing the incognito title of Mr John Smith, a union of the two most familiar



names in England, while the marquis assumed that of Mr Thomas Smith. A Paris, they obtained admission to the rehearsal or practising of a masque, where the prince beheld the princess Henrietta Maria of France, daughter of the illustrious Henry IV., and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII., who was in reality destined to be his wife. It appears, however, that he paid no attention to this lady on the present occasion. His heart being full of the object of his journey, he directed his whole attention to the queen of France, because she was sister to the Spanish princess, whom he was going to see. In a letter to his father, he speaks in terms of high expectation of the latter individual, seeing that her sister was the handsomest of twenty women (Henrietta was of course included) whom he saw at this masque. That Charles subsequently placed his whole affections on a woman whom he now saw with indifference is only another added to the many proofs, that love is among the most transferable of all things. On his arrival at Madrid, he was received in the most courteous manner by the Spanish court, and his gallantry, as might be expected, made a strong impression upon the people. The celebrated Lopez de Vega wrote a canzonet on the occasion, of which the first verse has chanced to meet our eye :

Carlos Estuardo soy ;  
Que siendo amor mi quia  
Al cielo de Espana voy  
Por ver nir estrello Maria.

[Charles Stuart am I :  
Love has guided me far  
To this fair Spanish sky,  
To see Mary my star.]

But, while he was entertained in the most affectionate manner by the people, and also by their prince, the formal policy of the court dictated that he should hardly ever see his intended bride. The marquis of Buckingham seriously proposed that he should send home for some perspective glasses, in order to reduce the distance at which she was kept from him. So far as his opportunities permitted him to judge of her personal merits, he admired her very much ; but we suspect that if he had fallen in love, as he had expected, he never would have broken off the match. After spending all the summer at the Spanish court, waiting for a dispensation from the Pope, to enable the princess to marry a protestant, he was suddenly inspired with some disgust, and abruptly announced his intention of returning home. The marquis, now duke, of Buckingham, whose mercurial manners had given great offence to the Spaniards, and who had conceived great offence in return, is supposed to have caused this sudden change of purpose. The earl of Bristol was left to marry the princess in the way of proxy, but with secret instructions not to do so till he should receive further orders.

It would be rash to pronounce judgment upon this affair with so little evidence as history has left us ; but it seems probable that the match was broken off, and the subsequent war incurred, purely through some freakish caprice of the favourite—for upon such things then depended the welfare of the nations. This contemptible court-butterfly ruled with absolute power over both the king and his son, but now chiefly sided with the latter against his father, being sensible that the old king was no longer able to assert his independency against the growing influence of his son. As the English people would have then fought in any quarrel, however unjust, against the Spaniards, simply because they were catholics, the war was very popular ; and Buckingham, who chiefly urged it, became as much the favourite of the nation, as he was of the king and prince. A negotiation was subsequently opened with France, for a match with the prin-

cess Henrietta Maria. On the 27th of March, 1625, Charles succeeded his father as king; and, on the 22d of June, the princess, to whom he had previously been espoused by proxy, arrived in London.

It would be foreign to the character of this work to enter into a full detail of the public transactions in which Charles was concerned in his regal character. We shall, therefore, be content with an outline of these transactions. The arrogant pretensions of his father, founded on "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," had roused a degree of jealousy and resistance among the people; whilst the weakness and vacillation of his character, and the pusillanimity of his administration, had gone far to bring the kingly office into contempt. Charles had imbibed the arbitrary principles of his father, and, without appreciating the progress of public opinion, resolved, on his accession, to carry out the extravagant theories of James. During the whole reign of the latter, the Commons had kept up a constant warfare with the crown, making every supply which they voted the condition of a new concession to the popular will. The easy nature of James had got over these collisions much better than was to be expected from the grave and stern temperament of his son. After a few such disputes with his parliament (for the House of Lords always joined with the Commons), Charles concluded his wars, to save all expense, and, resolving to call no more parliaments, endeavoured to support the crown in the best way he could by the use of his prerogative. For ten years subsequent to 1628, when the duke of Buckingham was assassinated, he contrived to carry on the state with hardly any assistance from his officers, using chiefly the ill-omened advice of Laud, bishop of London, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and also relying considerably upon the queen, to whom he was devotedly attached. The result was to sow distrust and discontent throughout the kingdom, to array the subject against the sovereign, and leave no alternative betwixt the enthrallment of the people and the destruction of the king. The earnest struggles for religious freedom, in England and Scotland, added a fresh impulse to the growing spirit of civil liberty. Charles rashly encountered the powerful body of nonconformists in England and the sturdy presbyterians of Scotland, and at last sank under the recoil.

The dissenters from the Church of England were at this time a rapidly increasing body; and the church, to maintain her power, thought proper to visit them with some severe sentences. The spirit with which the regular clergy were animated against the nonconformists, may be argued from the fact, that Laud publicly blessed God, when Dr Alexander Leighton was sentenced to lose his ears, and be whipped through the streets of London. The king and the archbishop had always looked with a jealous eye upon Scotland, where the episcopal form of government was as yet only struggling for supremacy over a people who were, almost without exception, presbyterian. In 1633, Charles visited Scotland for the purpose of receiving the crown of his ancient kingdom; and measures were thenceforth taken, under the counsel of his evil genius Laud, who accompanied him, for enforcing episcopacy upon the Church of Scotland. It was not, however, till 1637, that this bold project was carried into effect.

The Scots united themselves in a solemn covenant against this innovation, and at the close of the year 1638, felt themselves so confident in their own strength as to abolish episcopacy in a General Assembly of the church held in Glasgow, and which conducted its proceedings in spite of the prohibition of the king's commissioner. In 1639, his finances being exhausted, Charles was compelled, after the lapse of eleven years, to assemble a parliament, which met in April, 1640. Like their predecessors, the Commons refused to grant supplies till they had stated their grievances. The king hastily dissolved parliament, and proce-

cutted several of the members who had led on the opposition. The king, in spring, 1639, conducted an army of 20,000 to put down the Scots; but they met him with an equal force, and Charles was reduced to a pacification, which left the grounds of quarrel undecided. Next year, Charles raised another army; but the Scots anticipated him by invading England, and at Newburn on the Tyne overthrew a large detachment of his forces, and immediately after gained possession of Newcastle. All expedients for supporting his army now failed, and he seemed about to be deserted in a great measure by the affections of his subjects. A large portion of the English entered heartily into the views of the Scots. It was agreed by all parties that the northern army should be kept up at a certain monthly pay, till such time as a parliament should settle the grievances of the nation. Charles called together the celebrated assembly which afterwards acquired the name of the *Long Parliament*. This was only giving collective force and energy to the party which longed for his overthrow. He was obliged to resign his favourite minister, Strafford, as a victim to this assembly. Some of his other servants only escaped by a timely flight. He was himself obliged to abandon many points of his prerogative which he had hitherto exercised. Fearing that nothing but the sword could decide the quarrel, he paid a visit in autumn, 1641, to Scotland, and endeavoured, by ostensible concessions to the religious prepossessions of that nation, to secure its friendship, or at least its neutrality. In August, 1642, he erected his standard at Nottingham, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, composed chiefly of the country gentry and their retainers. The parliament, on the other hand, was supported by the city of London, and by the mercantile interest in general. At the first, Charles gained several advantages over the parliament; but the balance was restored by the Scots, who took side against the king, and, in February 1644, entered England with a large army. The cause of royalty from this time declined, and in May 1646, the king was reduced to the necessity of taking refuge in the camp of the Scottish army at Newark. He was treated with respect, but regarded as a prisoner, and after some abortive negotiations, was, January 30, 1647, surrendered to the commissioners of the English parliament, on the payment of the arrears due to the Scottish army. If Charles would have now consented to abolish episcopacy, and reign as a limited monarch, he would have been supported by the presbyterian party, and might have escaped a violent death. But his predilections induced him to resist every encroachment upon that form of ecclesiastical polity; and he therefore lost, in a great measure, the support of the presbyterians, who, though the body that had begun the war, were now sincerely anxious for a pacification, being in some alarm respecting a more violent class, who had latterly sprung up, and who, from their denial of all forms of church government, were styled Independents. This latter party, which reckoned almost the whole army in its numbers, eventually acquired an ascendancy over the more moderate presbyterians; and, the latter being forcibly excluded from parliament, the few individuals who remained formed themselves into a court of justice, before which the king was arraigned. Having been found guilty of appearing in arms against the parliament, Charles was by this court condemned to suffer death as a traitor, which sentence was put in execution, January 30, 1649, in front of his own palace of Whitehall, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

The Scottish subjects of Charles had made strenuous exertions to avert this fearful issue; and by none was his death mourned with a deeper sorrow than by the very Covenanters who had risen in arms to repel his invasion upon their liberty of conscience. It was indeed impossible not to deplore the fate of that unfortunate and misguided monarch; but it cannot be doubted that it was mainly brought

about by his own insincerity and obstinacy. By his queen, who survived him for some years, he left six children, of whom the two eldest, Charles and James, were successively kings of Great Britain; a son and a daughter died in early youth; and his two remaining daughters, Mary and Henrietta, were respectively married to the prince of Orange, and to the duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. In literature Charles is entitled to a high rank. There was published after his death, a work entitled *Eikon Basilike*, which contained a series of reflections proceeding from himself, respecting various situations in which he was placed towards the close of his life. This, in a short space of time, went through upwards of forty editions, and it every where excited a keen interest in the fate of the king and high admiration of his mental gifts. Although for a long time suspected to have been written by another hand, it appears incontestibly proved by Dr Christopher Wordsworth, in his work on this subject, (published in 1824,) to have been his own express composition.

CHEPMAN, WALTER, who appears to have been chiefly concerned in introducing the art of printing into Scotland, was a servant of king James IV., who patronised him in that undertaking. None of the honours of learning are known to have been attached to the name of Walter Chepman; but it is to be inferred that his office in the royal household was of a clerical or literary character, as we find that on the 21st of February, 1496, the lord treasurer enters the following disbursement in his books: "Giffen to a boy to rynne fra Edinburgh to Linlithq, to Watte Chepman, to signet twa letteris to pas to Woddia, 19d." His name is frequently mentioned in this curious record; for instance, in August, 1503, amidst a variety of expenses "*pro servitoribus*" on the occasion of the king's marriage, eight pounds ten shillings are given for "five elne Inglis (English) claith to Walter Chepman, ilk elne 34 shillings," which may show the high consideration in which this individual was held. Walter Chepman is found at a somewhat later period in the condition of a merchant and Burgess of Edinburgh, and joining with one Andro Millar, another merchant, in the business of a printer. It appears to have been owing to the urgent wishes of the king that Scotland was first favoured with the possession of a printing press. A grant under the privy seal, dated in 1507, recites the causes and objects of this measure in the following terms:—

JAMES, &c.—To al and sindrj our officiaris liegis and subdittis quham it efferis, quhais knowlage thir our lettres salcum, greting; wit ye that forsamkill as our lovittis servitouris Walter Chepman and Andro Millar burgessis of our burgh of Edinburgh, has, at our instance and request, for our plesour, the honour and proffit of our Realme and leigis, takin on thame to furnis and bring hame ane prent, with all stuff belangand tharto, and expert men to use the samyne, for imprenting within our Realme of the bukis of our Lawis, actis of parliament, croniclis, mess bukis, and portuus efter the use of our Realme, with addicions and legendis of Scottis sanctis, now gaderit to be ekit tharto, and al utheris bukis that salbe sene necessar, and to sel the sammyn for competent pricis, be our avis and discrecioun, thair labouris and expens being considerit; And because we wnderstand that this cannot be perfurnist without rycht greit cost labour and expens, we have granted and promittit to thame that thai sall nocht be hurt nor prevenit tharon be ony utheris to tak copyis of ony bukis furth of our Realme, to ger imprent the samyne in utheris countreis, to be brocht and sould agane within our Realme, to cause the said Walter and Andro tyne thair gret labour and expens; And als It is divisit and thoct expedient be us and our consall, that in tyme cuming mess bukis, manualis, matyne bukis, and portuus bukis, efter our awin scottis use, and with legendis of Scottis sanctis, as us now gaderit and ekit be ane Reverend fader in god, and our traist consalour

William bischope of abirdene and utheris, be usit generally within al our Realme alsone as the sammyn may be imprented and providit, and that no maner of sic bukis of Salisbury use be brocht to be sauld within our Realme in tym cuming; and gif ony dois in the contrar, that thai sal tyne the sammyn; Quharfor we charge straitlie and commandis yow al and sindrj our officiariis, liegis, and subdittis, that nane of yow tak apon hand to do ony thing incontrar this our awnpromitt, devise and ordinance, in tyme cuming, under the pane of escheting of the bukis, and punishing of their persons bringaris tharof within our Realme, in contrar this our statut, with al vigour as efferis. Geven under our prive Sel at Edinburgh, the xv day of September, and of our Regne the xx<sup>th</sup> yer.

(*Registrum Sec. Sig.* iii. 129.)

This typographical business would appear to have been in full operation before the end of 1507, as, on the 22d of December that year, we find the royal treasurer paying fifty shillings for "3 prentit bukes to the king, tane fra Andro Millaris wyff." The Cowgate, a mean street, now inhabited by the least instructed class of the citizens of Edinburgh, was the place where that grand engine of knowledge was established; as appears from the imprints of some of Chepman and Millar's publications, and also from a passage in the Traditions of Edinburgh, where the exact site of the house is thus made out:—"In the lower part of the church-yard [of St Giles, adjoining the Cowgate] there was a small place of worship, denominated the *Chapel of Holyrood*. Walter Chepman, the first printer in Edinburgh, in 1528, endowed an altar in this chapel with his tenement in the Cowgate; and, by the tenor of this charter, we are enabled to point out very nearly the residence of this remarkable person. The tenement is thus described:—'All and hail this tenement of land, back and foir, with houses, biggings, yards, and well, thereof, lying in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, on the south side thereof, near the said chapel, betwixt the lands of James Lamb on the east, and the lands of John Aber on the west, the arable lands, called Wairam's croft, on the south, and the said street on the north part.' " It is probable that the site is now covered by the new bridge thrown across the Cowgate at that point.

In the course of a few years, Chepman and Millar produced works,<sup>1</sup> of which hardly any other set is known to exist than that preserved in the Advocates' Library.

The privilege granted to Chepman and Millar was of a rigidly exclusive kind—for at this early period the system of monopolizing knowledge, which is now an absurdity and a disgrace, was a matter of necessity. In January 1509, we find Walter Chepman asserting the right of his patent against various individuals who had infringed upon it by importing books into the country. The lords of council thus re-inforced the privilege they had formerly granted to him:—

ANENT the complaint maid by Walter Chepman, that quhar he, at the desyre of our soverane lord, furnist and brocht hame ane prent and prentaris, for prenting of croniclis, missalis, portuans, and utheris buikis within this realme,

<sup>1</sup> The Porteous of Nobleness, translatit out of Ffrenche in Scottis, be Maister Andro Cadyou.—The Knightly tale of Gologras and Gawane.—Sir Glamore.—Balade: In all our Gardenne grows their no flowres.—The Golden Targe; compil't be Maister William Dunbar.—The Mayng, or Disport of Chaucere.—The flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy.—The Traite of Orpheus King.—The Nobilnes and grete Magnificence.—The Balade of ane right Noble Victorious and Mighty Lord Barnard Stewart, of Aubigny, Earl of Beaumont, &c. Compil't be Mr Wilyam Dunbar.—The Tale of the Twa Mariit Women and the Wedo.—Lament for the death of the Makkaris.—Poetical Peice, of one page in length, commencing, My Gudame was a gay Wyf.—The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy.—Fitts, &c. of Robyn Hud.—Breuiarij Aberdonensis ad percelebris Ecclesie Scotor.—Ejusdem Breuiarii Pars Æstivalis, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Willelmum, Abirdon. Episcopum, studiosius, maximisque cum laboribus collect.

and to seclude *salisbury* use ; And to that effect thair wes lettres under our said soverane lordis priue sele direct, till command and charge our soverane lordis liegis, that nain of thaim suld inbring or sell ony bukis of the said use of Salisbury, under the pane of escheting of the samyn ; Neuirtheless, Wilyiam Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, Andro Ross, and diuers uthers, merchandis within the burgh of Edinburgh, hes brocht haim, and selis daly, diuers bukis of the said use, sik as mess bukis, mannualis, portuiss, matinbukis, and diuers uther bukis, in the disobeing of the said command and lettres, lik as at mar lenth is contenit in the said complaint : The saidis Walter, William, Francis, William, and Andro, being personally present, And thair Richtis reasons and allegacions herd sene and understand, and thairwith being Riply avisit, The Lordis of Counsaile forsaidis commandit and chargit the saidis William Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, and Andro Ros, personaly, that nain of thaim, in tyme to cum, bring hame, nor sell within this Realme, ony misme bukis, mannuals, portuiss, or matinbukis, of the said use of Salusbery, under the payn of escheting of the samyn ; And that lettres be written in dew forme to the provest and balyeis of Edr and to officeris of our kingis Sheriffes in that pairt, to command and charge be oppin proclamation, all utheris merchandis and persons, that nain of thaim bring haim, nor sell within this Realme, ony of the bukis abonewritten of the said use of salusbury, in tyme to come under the said pain, according to the said lettres under our soverane lordis priue sele direct thairuppon ; And as to the bukis that ar ellis brocht hame be the saidis merchantis and uther persons, that thai bring nain to the merket, nor sell nain, within this Realme, bot that thei have the samyn furth of this Realme, and sell thaim ; and that the saidist provest, baillies, and officiaris forsaidis, serche and seik quhar ony of the saidis manuale, bukis, mesbukis, matinbukis, and portuiss, of the said use beis brocht haim in tyme to cum, or sould of thaim that ar ellis brocht hame, and eschete the samyn to our soverane lordis use : And als, that na persons tak copijs of the bukis abonwritin and donatis, and . . . or uther bukis that the said Walter hes prentit ellis for till haf thaim to uther Realmes to ger thaim be prentit, brocht haim, or sould, within this Realme in tyme to cum, under the pain of escheting of the samyn ; And quha dois in the contrair, that the said pain be put to executioun on thaim, And that lettres be direct herapon, in dew forme, as said is. (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xxi. 70.)

The troubles which befell the kingdom in 1513, in consequence of the battle of Flodden and the death of the king, appear to have put a stop for another age to the progress of the typographical art in Scotland. There is no further trace of it till the year 1542, when the national mind was beginning to feel the impulse of the Reformation. Nothing further is known of Walter Chepman, except what is to be gathered from the above passage in the Traditions of Edinburgh—namely, that he was employed in 1528 in bequeathing his property to the church, being then in all probability near the end of life.

CHEYNE, GEORGE, a physician of considerable eminence, was born in 1671, "of a good family, though neither the name of his father, nor the place of his birth, has been commemorated. He received a regular and liberal education, and was at first designed by his parents for the church. But though his mind was naturally of a studious and abstracted turn, he afterwards preferred the medical profession. He studied physic at Edinburgh, under the celebrated Dr Pitcairne, to whom he became much attached, and whom he styles, in the preface to his *Essay on Health and Long Life*, "his great master and generous friend." He has informed us that he was, at this period of his life, addicted to gay studies and indulgences ; but that he was soon apprised by the shaking of his hands, and a disposition to be easily ruffled on a surprise, of the unfitness of

his constitution for intemperance. When about thirty years of age, having taken the degree of M. D. he repaired to London, and there commenced practice as a physician. It affords a curious picture of the times, that he found it necessary to become a frequenter of taverns in order to get into practice. His cheerful temper, and vivacious conversation soon rendered him the favourite of the other gentlemen who frequented those places; he "grew daily," he says, "in bulk, and in friendship with those gay men, and their acquaintances." But this could not last long. He soon became excessively fat, short-winded, and lethargic, and being further admonished by an attack of vertigo, nearly approaching to apoplexy, he was obliged to abandon that style of life altogether.

Previous to this period, he had written, at the request of Dr Pitcairne, "A new Theory of Acute and Slow continued Fevers; wherein, besides the appearances of such, and the manner of their cure, occasionally, the structure of the glands, and the Manner and Laws of Secretion, the operation of purgative, vomitive, and mercurial medicines, are mechanically explained." Dr Pitcairne had wished to write such a work himself, in order to overthrow the opposing theories of some of his brethren, but was prevented from doing so by his constant application to practice, and therefore desired Dr Cheyne to undertake the task in his place. The work was hastily produced, and, though it was favourably received, the author never thought it worthy of receiving his name. The next work of Dr Cheyne was entitled, "*Fluxionum Methodus Inversa: sive quantitatum fluentium leges generales.*" Like many men who are eminent in one professional branch of knowledge, he was anxious to display an amateur's accomplishment in another; and hence this attempt at throwing light upon the mysteries of abstract geometry. In later life, he had the candour to say of this work, that it was "brought forth in ambition, and brought up in vanity. There are some things in it," he adds, "tolerable for the time, when the methods of quadratures, the mensuration of ratios, and transformation of curves into those of other kinds, were not advanced to such heights as they now are. But it is a long time since I was forced to forego these barren and airy studies for more substantial and commodious speculations: indulging and rioting in these so exquisitely bewitching contemplations being only proper to public professors, and those who are under no outward necessities. Besides, to own a great but grievous truth, though they may quicken and sharpen the invention, strengthen and extend the imagination, improve and refine the reasoning faculty, and are of use both in the necessary and luxurious refinement of mechanical arts; yet, having no tendency to rectify the will, sweeten the temper, or mend the heart, they often leave a stiffness, positiveness, and sufficiency on weak minds, much more pernicious to society, and the interests of the great ends of our being, than all the advantages they can bring can recompense."

On finding his health so materially affected by intemperance, Dr Cheyne left off eating suppers entirely, and in his other meals took only a little animal food, and hardly any fermented liquor. He informs us, that being now confined to the penitential solitude of a sick chamber, he had occasion to experience the faithfulness of all friendship formed on the principle of a common taste for sensual indulgences. His boon companions, even those who had been particularly obliged to him, left him like the stricken deer, to bewail his own unhappy condition; "so that at last," says the doctor, "I was forced into the country alone, reduced to the state of cardinal Wolsey, when he said, 'if he had served his Maker as faithfully and warmly as he had his prince, he would not have forsaken him in that extremity;' and so will every one find, when union and friendship is not founded on solid virtue, and in conformity to the divine order,

but in mere jollity. Being thus forsaken, dejected, melancholy, and confined in my country retirement, my body melting away like a snow-ball in summer, I had a long season for reflection. Having had a regular and liberal education, with the instruction and example of pious parents, I had preserved a firm persuasion of the great fundamental principles of all virtue and morality; namely, pure religion; in which I had been confirmed from abstract reasonings, as well as from the best natural philosophy. This led me to consider who of all my acquaintance I could wish to resemble most, or which of them had received and lived up to the plain truths and precepts contained in the gospels, or particularly our Saviour's sermon on the Mount. I then fixed on one, a worthy and learned clergyman; and as in studying mathematics, and in turning over Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical works, I always marked down the authors and writings mostly used and recommended, so in this case I purchased and studied such spiritual and dogmatic authors as I knew this venerable man approved. Thus I collected a set of religious books of the first ages since Christianity, with a few of the most spiritual of the moderns, which have been my study, delight, and entertainment ever since, and on these I have formed my ideas, principles, and sentiments, which have never been shaken." Dr Cheyne further informs us, that this reformation in his religious temperament, contributed greatly to forward the cure of his nervous diseases, which he perfected by a visit to Bath.

On his return to London, Dr Cheyne commenced living upon a milk diet, which he found remarkably salutary; but after a long course of years he gradually relapsed into a freer style of living, and though he never indulged to the least excess either in eating or drinking, his fat returned upon him, and at last he weighed upwards of thirty-two stone. Being again admonished of the evil effects of his indulgences, he all at once reverted to his milk diet, and in time regained his usual health. From this moderate style of living he never again departed; and accordingly he enjoyed tolerable health till 1743, when, on the 12th of April, he died at Bath, in full possession of his faculties to the last, and without experiencing a pang.

Besides the works already mentioned, Dr Cheyne published, in 1705, his "Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion, containing the Elements of Natural Philosophy, and the Proofs for Natural Religion, arising from them." This work he dedicated to the earl of Roxburgh, at whose request, and for whose instruction, it appears to have been originally written. He also published "An Essay on the True Nature and Due Method of treating the Gout, together with an account of the Nature and Quality of the Bath Waters," which passed through at least five editions, and was followed by "An Essay on Health and Long Life." The latter work he afterwards published in Latin. In 1733 appeared his "English Malady, or a Treatise on Nervous Diseases of all kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal and Hysterical Distempers." From the preface of this work we have derived the particulars here related respecting his own health through life. In 1740, Dr Cheyne published "An Essay on Regimen." His last work, which he dedicated to his friend and correspondent the earl of Chesterfield, was entitled, "The Natural Method of Curing the Diseases of the Human Body, and the Disorders of the Mind attending on the Body."

Dr Cheyne was eminently the physician of nervous distempers. He wrote chiefly to the studious, the voluptuous, and those who inherited bad constitutions from their parents. As a physician, he seemed to proceed, like Hippocrates of old, and Sydenham of modern times, upon a few great perceptible truths. He is to be ranked among those who have accounted for the operations of medicine, and the morbid alterations which take place upon the human body, upon me-



chanical principles. A spirit of piety and benevolence, and an ardent zeal for the interests of virtue, run through all his writings. It was commonly said, that most of the physicians of his own day were secretly or openly tainted with irreligion; but from this charge Dr Cheyne rendered himself an illustrious exception. He was as much the enemy of irreligion in general society, as of intemperance in his professional character. Some of the metaphysical notions which he has introduced in his writings, may be thought fanciful and ill-grounded; but there is an agreeable vivacity in his productions, together with much candour and frankness, and, in general, great perspicuity. Of his relatives, his half-brother, the Rev. William Cheyne, vicar of Weston, near Bath, died September 6, 1767, and his son, the Rev. John Cheyne, vicar of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, died August 11, 1768.

CLAPPERTON, HUGH, the distinguished African traveller, was born at Annan, in Dumfriesshire, in the year 1788. His father, Mr George Clapperton, was a respectable surgeon in that town. His paternal grandfather, who was a physician of considerable ability, was a native of the north of Scotland, and married to a cousin of colonel Archibald Campbell of Glenlyon: this person settled in practice at Lochmaben, another town in Dumfriesshire, and enjoyed some local fame as a collector of mineralogical and antiquarian curiosities, as well as of old Border ballads and genealogies, some of which were used by Sir Walter Scott in his 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.' Mr George Clapperton, the father of the traveller, was married twice; by the first marriage, he had ten or eleven sons and a daughter, by the second, three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest son by the first marriage. Owing partly to the number of his family, and partly to an improvident disposition, Mr Clapperton was unable to give his son Hugh that classical education which is so generally bestowed by people of the middle ranks in Scotland upon their children. When able to do little more than read and write indifferently, Hugh was placed under the care of Mr Bryce Downie, eminent as a mathematical teacher, through whom he acquired a knowledge of practical mathematics, including navigation and trigonometry. Mr Downie ever after spoke in terms of warm affection respecting his pupil, whom he described both as an apt scholar, and a most obliging boy, and able to bear with indifference the extremes of heat and cold.

It is frequently the fate of a large family of the middle order in Scotland, that at least one half of the sons leave their father's house, at an early age, with little more than the sailor's inheritance of a light heart and a thin pair of breeches, to push their way in search of fortune over every quarter of the globe, and in every kind of employment. The family of Mr George Clapperton appears to have been one of this order, for, while Hugh found distinction and a grave in the plains of Africa, no fewer than five of his brothers had also adopted an adventurous career, in the course of which some rose to a considerable rank in the navy and marine service, while others perished in their bloom. At the age of seventeen, the subject of this memoir was bound apprentice to Mr Smith, of the Postlethwaite of Maryport, a large vessel trading between Liverpool and North America. In this situation he continued for some years, already distinguished for coolness, dexterity, and intrepidity, when his course of life was suddenly changed by what appeared to be a most unhappy incident. On one occasion the ship, when at Liverpool, was partly laden with rock-salt, and as that commodity was then dear, the mistress of a house which the crew frequented very improperly enticed Clapperton to bring her ashore a few pounds in his handkerchief. After some intreaty the youth complied, probably from his ignorance of the revenue laws; was caught in the act by a custom-house officer, and

menaced with the terrors of trial and imprisonment, unless he consented to go on board the Tender. He immediately chose the latter alternative, and, shortly after, gave a brief account of what had occurred, and the new situation in which he found himself placed, in a letter addressed to Mr Scott, banker, Annan, concluding, though in modest and diffident terms, by soliciting the good offices of this gentleman to procure him promotion. By the influence of Mr Scott, exerted through general Dirom of Mount Annan, and his equally amiable lady, Clapperton was draughted on board the *Clorinde*, which was then fitting out for the East Indies. The commander of this vessel, in compliance with the request of Mrs general Dirom, to whom he was related, paid some attention to Clapperton, and finding him active and intelligent beyond his years, speedily promoted him to the rank of a midshipman; a circumstance which tended in no mean degree to fix his destiny, and shape his fortune in life. "It has often been remarked," says his biographer, Mr M'Diarmid, "that what at first appears to be a misfortune, is sometimes the happiest thing that could have befallen us; and so it chanced in the present instance. It may be safely said, that if Clapperton had not smuggled a few pounds of salt, he would never have figured as an African traveller. Had he remained in the American or coasting trade, he might first have become mate, then master, then ship's husband and part owner, and finally retired to his native burgh, with a fortune of a few thousand pounds, and vegetated tranquilly for ten or twenty years, reading the newspapers, or playing at billiards in the forenoon, and smoking cigars, and drinking whisky punch or negus in the evening. But where would have been his laurels—where his glory—where his zeal in the cause of science—where his defiance of death and danger—where his place in the British annals!"

Without allowing that the one fate has been much better than the other, either for the traveller or for his country, it is sufficiently obvious, that this step was in itself a fortunate one for Clapperton, as it opened up to him a much higher career of exertion, and one more worthy of his genius, than that which he had hitherto pursued. Previous to 1813, the British sailors were trained to no particular method of managing the cutlass. It being suggested that this was a defect, a few clever midshipmen, among whom was Clapperton, were ordered to repair to Plymouth Dock-yard, to be instructed by the celebrated swordman, Angelo, in what was called the improved cutlass exercise. When their own instructions had been completed, they were distributed as teachers over the fleet, and Mr Clapperton happened to be appointed to the *Asia*, 74, the flag-ship of vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, then lying at Spithead. This vessel set sail in January, 1814, for Bermuda, and Mr Clapperton continued during the voyage to act as drill-sergeant. At this time occurred an incident which strikingly illustrates his characteristic coolness and intrepidity. One evening the alarm was given that the ship was on fire; the drums immediately beat to quarters, and the firemen were piped away to the gun-room, where an immense quantity of luggage had been temporarily deposited, and whence were issuing huge and increasing volumes of smoke. The after magazine, containing some hundred barrels of gun-powder, was immediately beneath, and the appearance of the combustion had become so alarming, that every man awaited his fate in silence, under an impression that the vessel would be speedily blown to atoms. At this moment, Clapperton was observed by a friend, sitting at a table in the larboard berth, very quietly smoking a cigar. His friend having expressed surprise at his seeming indifference, he stated quite coolly, "that being only a supernumerary, no particular station had been assigned to him, and it was therefore of no importance where he was at the time the ship blew up." The fire was fortunately extinguished.

While lying at Bermuda, and on the passage out, nothing could exceed Mr Clapperton's diligence in discharging the duties of his new occupation. Officers as well as men, received instructions from him in the outlass exercise; and his manly figure and sailor-like appearance tended, in the opinion of all who saw him, to fix the attention, and improve the patriotic spirit of the crew. At his own, as well as the other messes, where he was a frequent guest, he was the very life and soul of the party; sung a good song, told a merry tale, painted scenes for the ship's theatricals, sketched views, drew caricatures, and, in one word, was an exceedingly amusing and interesting person. Even the admiral became acquainted with his delightful properties, and honoured him with his warmest friendship and patronage. Clapperton was obliged, however, to repair to the Canadian lakes, which were then about to become the scene of important naval operations. Here he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and soon after appointed to the command of the *Confiance* schooner, the crew of which was composed of nearly all the unmanageable characters in the squadron. To keep these men in order was no easy task; yet his measures were at once so firm and so judicious, that, although he rarely had recourse to flogging, and withheld or disbursed allowances of grog, as a better system of rewards and punishments, his troops in the end became so orderly, that the *Confiance* was allowed to be one of the smartest barks on the water. When she rode at anchor on the spacious shores of Lake Erie or Lake Huron, her commander occasionally repaired to the woods, and with his gun kept himself in fresh provisions. In these excursions he cultivated an acquaintance with the aborigines, and was so much charmed with a mode of life, full of romance, incident, and danger, that he once entertained serious thoughts, when the war was ended, of becoming a denizen of the forest himself. It was his custom, on returning to the vessel, to swim out to it, instead of taking a boat, so that he might, by approaching unperceived, detect the crew in any little neglect of duty. On one occasion, having dined heartily on shore, the water propelled the blood to his head, so that he soon became too weak either to retreat or advance. In this situation he contrived to float, and called for a boat as loudly as he was able. For a long time his cries were disregarded; and he often expressed his firm conviction, that the watch were willing to leave him to his fate, as the best means of getting rid of a rigid disciplinarian. But at length, fearing that if he survived, a worse fate would befall them, they sent out a boat, which saved him when at the very point of sinking through exhaustion. This adventure frightened him out of the practice.

In the year 1817, when the flotilla on the lakes was dismantled, Clapperton returned to England, to be placed, like many others, on half pay, and he ultimately retired to the old burgh of Lochmaben. There he remained till 1820, amusing himself chiefly with rural sports, when he removed to Edinburgh, and shortly after became acquainted with a young Englishman of the name of Oudney, who had just taken his degree as doctor of medicine in the college. It was at the suggestion of this gentleman that he first turned his thoughts to African discovery. On the return of captain Lyon from his unsuccessful attempt to penetrate northern Africa, earl Bathurst, then Colonial Secretary, relying on the strong assurances of his majesty's consul at Tripoli, that the road to the south of Mourzook, (the extreme point of Lyon's expedition,) was now open, resolved that a second mission should be sent out, to explore this unhappy quarter of the globe. Dr Oudney was, upon strong recommendations from Edinburgh, appointed to proceed on this expedition, in the capacity of consul at Bornou in central Africa, being allowed to take Clapperton along with him as a companion. About that time, the late colonel Denham having volunteered his services in an

attempt to pass from Tripoli to Timbuctoo; and it being intended that researches should be made from Bornou, as the fixed residence of the consul, to the east and to the west, lord Bathurst added his name to the expedition. The expedition set out from Tripoli early in 1822. It advanced in a line nearly south to Mourzook, which is situated in lat. 25 N. and long. 14 E., and which it reached on the 8th of April. Unfortunately, from various circumstances, it was here found impossible to proceed any further this season; and while Denham returned to Tripoli to make new arrangements, Oudney and Clapperton made an excursion during June, July, and August, to the westward of Mourzook, into the country of the Tuaricks, which they penetrated to Ghraat, in the eleventh degree of east longitude.

On the return of Denham in October, he found Clapperton ill of an ague, and Oudney of a cold, and both were in a very wretched condition. On the 29th of November, however, the whole expedition was able to proceed. Keeping as nearly as possible in a direction due south, and very nearly in the fourteenth degree of east longitude, they arrived in February 1823, in the kingdom of Bornou, which they found to be a far more powerful and civilized state than they could have formerly believed, the most of the inhabitants professing Mahomedanism. This, it must be observed, was a part of the world never before known to have been trodden by a European foot. On the 17th, the travellers, who went in company with a great African merchant named Boo-Khaloom, reached Kouka, the capital of the country, where the sultan had several thousand well mounted cavalry drawn up to receive them. This city became their head quarters for the winter; and while Clapperton and Oudney remained there, Denham made an excursion still farther to the south, which he penetrated to Musfeia in latitude  $9^{\circ} 15' N.$ , thereby adding in all  $14\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, or nearly 900 geographical miles to the European knowledge of Africa in this direction. Afterwards, Denham made an excursion with Oudney to Munga and Gambaroo in a western direction.

On the 14th of December, 1823, Mr Clapperton, accompanied by Dr Oudney, commenced a journey to the west, for the purpose of exploring the course of the Niger, leaving Denham to explore the neighbouring shores of the great lake Chad, which may be called the Caspian of Africa. The two travellers arrived in safety at Murmur, where Oudney, who had previously been very weakly, breathed his last in the arms of his companion. "At any time, in any place," says Clapperton in his narrative, "to be bereaved of such a friend had proved a severe trial; but to me his friend and fellow-traveller, labouring also under disease, and now left alone amid a strange people, and proceeding through a country which had hitherto been never trod by European feet, the loss was severe and afflicting in the extreme." Proceeding on his journey, Clapperton reached Kano, the capital of the kingdom of Housa, which he entered on the 23d of January, 1824. In general the native chiefs treated him with kindness, partly from a sense of the greatness of his master, the king of Great Britain. On the 10th of March, he reached Jackatoo, a large city in lat.  $13^{\circ} N.$  and long.  $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} E.$ , which was the extreme point of the expedition in that direction. The sultan of this place treated him with much attention, and was found to be a person of no small intelligence, considering his situation.

"March 19, I was sent for," says Clapperton, "by the sultan, and desired to bring with me the 'looking-glass of the sun,' the name they gave to my sextant. I first exhibited a planisphere of the heavenly bodies. The sultan knew all the signs of the Zodiac, some of the constellations, and many of the stars, by their Arabic names. The looking-glass of the sun was then brought forward, and occasioned much surprise. I had to explain all its appendages. The in-

verting telescope was an object of immense astonishment; and I had to stand at some little distance, to let the sultan look at me through it, for his people were all afraid of placing themselves within its magical influence. I had next to show him how to take an observation of the sun. The case of the artificial horizon, of which I had lost the key, was sometimes very difficult to open, as happened on this occasion: I asked one of the people near me for a knife to press up the lid. He handed me one quite too small, and I quite inadvertently asked for a dagger for the same purpose. The sultan was immediately thrown into a fright; he seized his sword, and half-drawing it from the scabbard, placed it before him, trembling all the time like an aspen leaf. I did not deem it prudent to take the least notice of his alarm, although it was I who had in reality most cause of fear; and on receiving the dagger, I calmly opened the case, and returned the weapon to its owner with apparent unconcern. When the artificial horizon was arranged, the sultan, and all his attendants had a peep at the sun; and my breach of etiquette seemed entirely forgotten." The courage and presence of mind of Clapperton are most strikingly displayed in this anecdote.

Clapperton was very anxious to have pressed westwards in order to fall in with the Niger, which he was told was within five days' journey, and the course of which was described to him by the sultan. But owing to some of those malign jealousies which the slave trade inspires into the African mind, he was not permitted to proceed. He set out, May 4, on his return to Kouka, which he reached on the 8th of July. Here he was rejoined by Denham, who scarcely knew him, on account of the ravages which illness had committed upon his once manly frame. The two remaining travellers then set out on their return to Tripoli, which, after a harassing journey across the desert, they reached, January, 26, 1825, about three years after they had first set foot in Africa. They returned through Italy to Europe, and arrived in England on the 1st of June.

The result of this expedition was a work published in 1826, under the title of "Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, by Major Denham, F.R.S., Captain Clapperton, and the late Dr Oudney," of which a third edition was published in 1828. The greater part of this work was the composition of Denham, Clapperton only writing a minor part, respecting the excursion to Jackatoo, which, however, is not the least interesting in the book. The subject of our memoir wrote in a plain, manly, unaffected style, as might have been expected from his character. The work was published under the immediate superintendence of major Denham; and it was not the fate of Clapperton ever to see the result of his labours in print.

This enterprising person was solicited, immediately after his return, to undertake the management of another expedition to Africa, in company with captain Pearce of the royal navy, Dr Morrison, and Mr Dickson. On this occasion it was projected, that he should enter the continent, with his companions, at the Guinea coast, and thence endeavour to reach Jackatoo in a north-easterly direction, so as to make sure of intersecting the Niger. An enterprising youth, named Richard Lander, applied to Clapperton for permission to join the expedition in any capacity he might think proper. "The captain," we are informed by this individual, in his Narrative subsequently published, "listened to me with attention, and, after I had answered a few interrogations, willingly engaged me to be his confidential servant. In this interview," adds Mr Lander, "the keen, penetrating eye of the African traveller did not escape my observation, and by its fire, energy, and quickness, denoted, in my own opinion at least, the very soul of enterprise and adventure." After being entrusted with

an answer from the king to a letter which he had brought from the sultan Bello of Jackatoo, and with a letter to El Kanemy, the Shiekh of Bornou, Clapperton left England with his company, on the 27th August, not three months from the time of his return. Mr Dickson having been, at his own request, landed at Whydah, the rest disembarked, on the 28th of November, at Badagry in the Bight of Benin.

The journey into the interior was commenced on the 7th of December, and Clapperton soon had the pain of seeing his two companions, Pearce and Morrison, fall a sacrifice to its hardships. Accompanied by a merchant named Houtson, who joined him as a volunteer, he pursued his enterprise, and on the 15th of January 1826, arrived at Katunga, the capital of Youriba. From this point Mr Houtson returned without molestation, leaving Clapperton and Lander to pursue their journey alone. They soon after crossed the Quorra, or Niger, at Boussa, the place where Park had met his untimely fate. In July, the travellers reached Kano, a large city on the line of road which Clapperton had formerly traversed, and here, on the 24th, the latter individual left his servant with the baggage, while he proceeded by himself to Soccatoo. This parting in the wilderness is affectingly described by Mr Lander. "Every arrangement having been previously made, my master came to bid me adieu, and gave me final instructions relative to proceeding to Bornou and Tripoli, in case of his death, or of any unforeseen accident that might befall him. On this occasion each of us was much moved. Our little party had left their native country full of hope and enterprising spirit, and we had seen them sicken and die by our sides without being in a condition to mitigate their sufferings, or 'smooth down their lonely pillow.' Like the characters in Mozart's 'Farewell,' they had dropped one by one; and they were buried in a strange land, far from the graves of their fathers, with scarce a memento to point out the solitary spot. These were my thoughts at the moment of separation from my valued master. I knew that it was by no means unlikely we might never meet again, and we were well assured, that in the event of our dissolution when apart, no one would be found to close our eyes, still less to perform the rites of Christian burial over our remains. My master therefore left me with emotion. For my own part, I was yet, if possible, more sensibly agitated: as soon as the captain was out of sight, I threw myself upon my couch, from which I did not again arise for twenty-four hours."

It was the wish of Clapperton to obtain permission from sultan Bello to visit Timbuctoo, and revisit Bornou. But all his plans were frustrated in consequence of Bello having engaged in a war with the Shiekh of Bornou. Clapperton, in his former visit, had presented the latter individual with several Congreve rockets, which he had employed effectually in setting fire to some of the sultan's towns. The traveller also bore, on this occasion, some considerable presents from the king of England to the Shiekh of Bornou; and thus every circumstance conspired to introduce jealousy into the mind of the sultan. Clapperton was detained for several months at Soccatoo in bad health, and Lander was inveigled by the sultan to come also to that city, along with the baggage, in order that the presents intended for Bornou might be intercepted. Lander reached Soccatoo in November, to the surprise of his master, and immediately their baggage was seized in the most shameless manner, and the travellers expressly forbidden to proceed to Bornou.

To pursue the narrative of Lander: "My master and myself enjoyed tolerable health for some weeks after my arrival, I say *tolerable*, for *perfect* health we felt not even a single day in Africa. We variously employed our leisure hours, as inclination or circumstances might guide our choice. We

each went a-shooting repeatedly: this was captain Clapperton's favourite amusement, and almost the only out-of-door exercise he was at all eager to cultivate. He frequently went out with his gun at an early hour in the morning, and returned not till the evening was pretty far advanced. On all of these occasions the captain was dressed in the costume of the country, which consisted, besides other articles, of a large, flowing tobe, and a red cap with a white muslin turban: the tobe was confined to his waist by a broad belt, in which a brace of pistols and a short dagger were stuck;—thus accoutred, my master looked more like a mountain robber setting out on a predatory excursion, than a British naval officer. His beard, also, which he had permitted gradually to grow, had undisputed possession of his chin, and was of a truly patriarchal length, extending even below his breast. This imparted to his countenance a venerable expression, and to his general appearance a degree of dignity, that excited the envy and admiration of the Arabs and Falatahs, who attach great importance to large bushy beards, which they all strive to obtain by various means."

Mr Lander next describes the way in which they generally spent their evenings, while confined in this place. "Sometimes, although neither of us was gifted with a voice of much power or compass, we attempted to sing a few English or Scottish tunes; and sometimes I played others on my bugle-horn. How often have the pleasing strains of 'Sweet, sweet Home,' resounded through the melancholy streets of Soccatoo! How often have its inhabitants listened with breathless attention to the white-faced strangers! and observed to each other, as they went away, 'Surely those Christians are sending a blessing to their country and friends!' Any thing that reminded my master of his native Scotland was always heard with interest and emotion. The little poem, 'My native Highland home,' I have sung scores of times to him, as he has sat with his arms folded on his breast opposite to me in our dwelling; and notwithstanding his masculine understanding, and boasted strength of nerve, the captain used to be somewhat moved on listening to the lines:

'Then gang wi' me to Scotland dear,  
We ne'er again will roam;  
And with thy smile, so bonny, cheer  
My native Highland home!  
For blithesome is the breath of day,  
And sweet 's the bonny broom,  
And pure the dimpling rills that play  
Around my Highland home.'

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"On the 12th of March [1827], all thoughts of further enjoyment ceased, through the sudden illness of my dear kind master, who was attacked with dysentery on that day. He had been almost insensibly declining for a week or two previously, but without the slightest symptoms of this frightful malady. From the moment he was first taken ill, captain Clapperton perspired freely, large drops of sweat continually rolling over every part of his body, which weakened him exceedingly; and, being unable to obtain any one, even of our own servants, to assist, I was obliged to wash the clothes, kindle and keep in the fire, and prepare the victuals with my own hands. Owing to the intense heat, my master was frequently fanned for hours together: indeed, all my leisure moments were devoted to this tedious occupation; and I have often held the fan till, from excessive weakness, it has fallen from my grasp.

Finding that, from increasing debility, I was unable to pay that unremitting

attention to the numerous wants of the invalid which his melancholy state so peculiarly demanded, I sent to Malam Mudéy on the 15th, entreating him to lend me a female slave to perform the operation of fanning. On her arrival the girl began her work with alacrity and cheerfulness; but soon becoming weary of her task, ran away, and never returned to our hut. I was therefore obliged to resume it myself; and, regardless of personal inconvenience and fatigue, strained every nerve, in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the sufferings occasioned by this painful disorder. My master daily grew weaker, and suffered severely from the intolerable heat of the atmosphere, the thermometer being, in the coolest place, 107 at twelve at noon, and 109 at three in the afternoon.

At his own suggestion I made a couch for him outside our dwelling, in the shade, and placed a mat for myself by its side. For five successive days I took him in my arms from his bed to the couch outside, and back again at sunset, after which he was too much debilitated to encounter even so trifling an exertion. He expressed a wish to write once, and but once, during his illness, but before paper and ink could be handed to him, he had fallen back on his bed, completely exhausted by his ineffectual attempt to sit up.

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“For twenty days the captain remained in a low and distressed state, and during that period was gradually but perceptibly declining; his body, from being strong and vigorous, having become exceedingly weak and emaciated, and, indeed, little better than a skeleton. There could not be a more truly pitiable object in the universe than was my poor dear master, at this time. His days were sorrowfully and ignobly wasting in vexatious indolence; he himself languishing under the influence of a dreadful disease, in a barbarous region, far, very far removed from his tenderest connections, and beloved country; the hope of life quenched in his bosom; the great undertaking, on which his whole soul was bent, unaccomplished; the active powers of his mind consumed away; and his body so torn and racked with pain, that he could move neither head, hand, nor foot without suppressed groans of anguish; while the fire and energy that used to kindle in his eye had passed away, and given place to a glossy appearance—a dull saddening expression of approaching dissolution.

“In those dismal moments, captain Clapperton derived considerable consolation from the exercise of religious duties; and, being unable himself to hold a book in his hand, I used to read aloud to him daily and hourly some portions of the Sacred Scriptures. At times a gleam of hope, which the impressive and appropriate language of the Psalmist is so admirably calculated to excite, would pierce the thick curtain of melancholy that enveloped us; but, like the sun smiling through the dense clouds of a winter's day, it shone but faintly, and left us in a state of gloomier darkness than before.

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“On the first of April the patient became considerably worse; and, although evidently in want of repose, the virulence of his complaint prevented him from enjoying any refreshing slumbers. On the 9th, Maddie, a native of Bornou, whom my master had retained in his service, brought him about twelve ounces of green bark, from the butter-tree, recommended to him by an Arab in the city; and assured us that it would produce the most beneficial effects. Notwithstanding all my remonstrances, a decoction of it was ordered to be prepared immediately, the too confiding invalid remarking that no one would injure him. Accordingly, Maddie himself boiled two basins full, the whole of which stuff was swallowed in less than an hour.

“On the following day he was greatly altered for the worse, as I had foretold he would be, and expressed regret for not having followed my advice. About



twelve o'clock at noon, calling me to his bed-side, he said—'Richard! I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying.' Almost choked with grief, I replied, 'God forbid! my dear master; you will live many years to come.' 'Do not be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you,' rejoined he; 'you distress me by your emotion; it is the will of the Almighty, and therefore cannot be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my decease; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents, and send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the Colonial office, and see you deposit them with the secretary. After my body is laid in the earth, apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for crossing the desert to Fezzan in the train of the Arab merchants. On your arrival at Mourzuk, should your money be expended, send a messenger to Mr Warrington, our consul for Tripoli, and wait till he returns with a remittance. On your reaching the latter place, that gentleman will further advance you what money you may require, and send you to England the first opportunity. Do not lumber yourself with my books, but leave them behind, as well as my barometer and sticks, and indeed every heavy or cumbersome article you can conveniently part with; you may give them to Malam Mudey, who will preserve them. Remark whatever towns or villages you may pass through, and put on paper any thing remarkable that the chiefs of the different places may say to you.' I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, 'If it be the will of God to take you, Sir, you may confidently rely, as far as circumstances will permit me, on my faithfully performing all that you have desired; but I hope and believe that the Almighty will yet spare you to see your home and country again.' 'I thought at one time,' continued he, 'that that would be the case, but I dare not entertain such hopes now; death is on me, and I shall not be long for this world; God's will be done.' He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear glistened in his eye, said in a tremulous, melancholy tone: 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago. I can only thank you with my latest breath for your devotedness and attachment to me; and if I could live to return to England with you, you should be placed beyond the reach of want; the Almighty, however, will reward you.'

"This pathetic conversation, which occupied almost two hours, greatly exhausted my master, and he fainted several times while speaking. The same evening he fell into a slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said, that he had heard with peculiar distinctness the tolling of an English funeral bell; but I entreated him to be composed, observing, that sick people frequently fancy things which in reality can have no existence. He shook his head, but said nothing.

"About six o'clock on the morning of the 11th April, on my asking him how he did, my master replied in a cheerful tone, that he felt much better; and requested to be shaved. He had not sufficient strength to lift his head from the pillow; and after finishing one side of the face I was obliged myself to turn his head in order to get at the other. As soon as he was shaved, he desired me to fetch him a looking-glass which hung on the opposite side of the hut; and on seeing the reflection of his face in it, observed that he looked quite as ill in Bornou on his former journey, and that as he had borne his disorder for so long a time, there was some possibility of his yet recovering. On the following day he still fancied himself to be convalescent, in which belief I myself agreed, as he was enabled to partake of a little hashed guinea fowl in the course of the afternoon, which he had not done before during the whole of his confinement, having derived his sole sustenance from a little fowl soup, and milk and water.

"These flattering anticipations, however, speedily vanished, for on the morn-

ing of the 13th, being awake, I was greatly alarmed on hearing a peculiar rattling noise issuing from my master's throat, and his breathing at the same time was loud and difficult. At that moment, on his calling out 'Richard!' in a low, hurried, and singular tone, I was instantly at his side, and was astonished beyond measure on beholding him sitting upright in his bed (not having been able for a long time previously to move a limb), and staring wildly around. Observing him ineffectually struggling to raise himself on his feet, I clasped him in my arms, and whilst I thus held him, could feel his heart palpitating violently. His throes became every moment less vehement, and at last they entirely ceased, inasmuch that thinking he had fallen into a slumber, or was overpowered by faintings, I placed his head gently on my left shoulder, gazing for an instant, on his pale and altered features; some indistinct expressions quivered on his lips, and whilst he vainly strove to give them utterance, his heart ceased to vibrate, and his eyes closed for ever!

"I held the lifeless body in my arms for a short period, overwhelmed with grief; nor could I bring myself to believe that the soul which had animated it with being, a few moments before, had actually quitted it. I then unclasped my arms, and held the hand of my dear master in mine; but it was cold and dead, and instead of returning the warmth with which I used to press it, imparted some of its own unearthly chillness to my frame, and fell heavily from my grasp. O God! what was my distress in that agonizing moment? Shedding floods of tears, I flung myself along the bed of death, and prayed that Heaven would in mercy take my life."

By the permission of Sultan Bello, Mr Lander buried his fellow-traveller at Jungavie, about five miles south-east from Soccattoo;—after describing the mournful scene, he thus proceeds to draw the character of his master:

"No one could be better qualified than captain Clapperton by a fearless, indomitable spirit, and utter contempt of danger and death, to undertake and carry into execution an enterprise of so great importance and difficulty, as the one with which he was entrusted. He had studied the African character in all its phases—in its moral, social, and external form; and, like Alcibiades, accommodated himself with equal ease to good, as well as to bad fortune—to prosperity, as well as to adversity. He was never highly elated at the prospect of accomplishing his darling wishes—the great object of his ambition—nor deeply depressed when environed by danger, care, disappointment, and bodily suffering, which, hanging heavily upon him, forbade him to indulge in hopeful anticipations. The negro loved him, because he admired the simplicity of his manners, and mingled with pleasure in his favourite dance; the Arab hated him, because he was overawed by his commanding appearance, and because the keen penetrating glance of the British captain detected his guilty thoughts, and made him quail with apprehension and fear.

"Captain Clapperton's stature was tall; his disposition was warm and benevolent; his temper mild, even, and cheerful; while his ingenuous manly countenance portrayed the generous emotions that reigned in his breast. In fine, he united the figure and determination of a man, with the gentleness and simplicity of a child; and, if I mistake not, he will live in the memory of many thousands of Africans, until they cease to breathe, as something more than mortal; nor have I the least doubt that the period of his visiting their country will be regarded by some as a new era, from which all events of consequence, that affect them, will hereafter be dated."

The surviving traveller was permitted to leave Soccattoo a few days afterwards, and return on the way to Badagry. He reached that part of the coast, after almost incredible hardships, and returning safely to England, prepared for the

press a work entitled, "Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa," which appeared in 1830, in two volumes 12mo. Before the publication of this book, Mr Lander had set out on another expedition, in company with his younger brother, John; and pursuing nearly the same route as that of captain Clapperton, again reached the Niger at Boussa. It was an impression of Mr Lander, that that river ran into the Bight of Benin, and he had, on his return, endeavoured to prove the fact by descending the stream, but was prevented by the natives. He now fairly settled the question by sailing down the river, and entering the sea by the outlet which is marked on the maps by the name of Nun. Thus was a youth of about twenty-six years of age at last successful in solving a problem which many older and better instructed men had failed to expound. It is to be allowed, however, that Clapperton is indirectly entitled to a large share of this honour, as it was he who introduced Lander to the field of African adventure, and who inspired him with the desire, and invested him with the accomplishments, necessary for the purpose.

CLEGHORN, GEORGE, a learned physician, was the son of a farmer at Granton, in the parish of Cramond, near Edinburgh; and was born there, on the 13th of December 1716. In 1719, the father of Dr Cleghorn died, leaving a widow and five children. George, who was the youngest, received the rudiments of his education at the parish school, and in 1728, was sent to Edinburgh, to be further instructed in Latin, French, and Greek; where, to a singular proficiency in those languages, he added a considerable stock of mathematical knowledge. At the age of fifteen, he commenced the study of physic and surgery, and had the good fortune to be placed under the tuition of the illustrious Monro, and under his roof. For five years, he continued to profit by the instruction and example of his great master; at the same time, he attended the lectures on botany, chemistry, materia medica, and the theory and practice of medicine; and by extraordinary diligence, he attracted the notice of all his preceptors. He was at this time the intimate friend and fellow-student of the celebrated Fothergill, in conjunction with whom, and a few other young men, he established the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, an institution of a very valuable kind, which still exists. So great was the distinction of Cleghorn, even as a student, that, when little more than nineteen years of age, he was appointed by the recommendation of Dr St Clair, surgeon to the 22d regiment of foot, then stationed at Minorca, under the command of general St Clair. During the thirteen years which he spent in that island, he applied himself most diligently to his improvement in medical and anatomical studies, in which he was much assisted by his friend Fothergill, who sent him out such books as he required from London. On leaving Minorca in 1749, he went with the regiment to Ireland; and next year he repaired to London, in order to give to the world the fruit of some of his observations, in a work entitled, "The diseases of Minorca." This work not only exhibits an accurate statement of the air, but a minute detail of the vegetable productions of the island; and concludes with medical observations, important in every point of view, and in some instances either new, or applied in a manner which preceding practitioners had not admitted. The medical world was indebted to Dr Cleghorn for proving the advantage of acescent vegetables in low, putrid, and remittent fevers, and the copious use of bark, which had been interdicted from mistaken facts, deduced from false theories. While superintending the publication of this work, Dr Cleghorn attended the anatomical lectures of Dr Hunter; and on his return to Dublin, where he settled in practice in 1751, he began to give a similar course himself, and was the first person that established what could, with propriety, be considered an anatomical school in Ireland. Some years afterwards, he was

admitted into the university as lecturer on anatomy. From this period till his death in December 1789, Dr Cleghorn lived in the enjoyment of a high and lucrative practice, the duties of which he varied and relieved by a taste for farming and horticulture, and by attentions to the family of a deceased brother, which he undertook to support. In private life, Dr Cleghorn is said to have been as amiable and worthy, as in his professional life he was great. He was enabled before his death to acquire considerable estates in the county of Meath, of which his nephew, George Cleghorn of Kilcarty, was High Sheriff in the year 1794.

CLELAND, WILLIAM, the troubadour, as he may be called, of the covenanters, was born about the year 1671, having been just twenty-eight years of age at his death, in 1689. When only eighteen, he held command as a captain in the covenanting army at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. It would thus appear likely, that he was born in a respectable grade of society. He seems to have stepped directly from the university into the field of arms; for it is known that he was at college just before completing his eighteenth year; at which age he enjoyed the rank above-mentioned in the whig army. Although Cleland probably left the country after the affair at Bothwell, he is found spending the summer of 1685, in hiding, among the wilds of Clydesdale and Ayrshire, having, perhaps, returned in the unfortunate expedition of the earl of Argyle. Whether he again retired to the continent is not known; but, after the revolution, he re-appears on the stage of public life, in the character of lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Angus' regiment, called the Cameronian regiment, in consequence of its having been raised out of that body of men, for the purpose of protecting the convention parliament. That Cleland had now seen a little of the world, appears from a poem entitled, *some Lines made by him upon the observation of the vanity of worldly honours*, after he had been at several princes' courts.<sup>1</sup>

It is a strong mark of the early popularity of *Hudibras*, that, embodying though it did the sarcasms of a cavalier against the friends of civil and religious liberty, it nevertheless travelled into Scotland, and inspired with the principle of imitation a poet of the entirely opposite party. Cleland, who, before he left college, had written some highly fanciful verses, of which we have preserved a copy below,<sup>2</sup> composed a poem in the Hudibrastic style, upon the celebrated

<sup>1</sup> We also observe, in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, that he published "*Disputatio Juridica de Probationibus*," at Utrecht, in 1684; which would imply that he studied civil law at that celebrated seminary.

<sup>2</sup> These form part of a poem entitled, "*Hollo, my Fancy*," which was printed in Watson's *Collection of Scottish Poems*, at the beginning of the last century—

In conceit like Phaeton,  
I'll mount Phœbus' chair,  
Having ne'er a hat on,  
All my hair a-burning,  
In my journeying,  
Hurrying through the air.  
Fain would I hear his fiery horses neighing!  
And see how they on foamy bits are playing!  
All the stars and planets I will be surveying  
Hollo, my fancy, whither wilt thou go?  
O, from what ground of nature  
Doth the pelican,  
That self-devouring creature,  
Prove so froward  
And untoward  
Her vitals for to strain!  
And why the subtle fox, while in death's wounds lying,  
Doth not lament his wounds by howling and by crying!  
And why the milk-white swan doth sing when she's a-dying!  
Hollo, my fancy, whither wilt thou go?  
&c. &c. &c.

expedition of the Highland host, which took place in 1678. His object was to satirise both the men who composed this expedition and those who directed it to take place. It chiefly consists in a ludicrous account of the outlandish appearance, senseless manners, and oppressive conduct of the northern army. So far as satire could repay the rank cruelty of that mode of constraining men's consciences, it was repaid—for the poem is full of poignant sarcasm, expressed in language far above the poetical diction of that day, at least in Scotland. It was not published, however, till 1697, nearly twenty years after the incident which called it forth, when at length it appeared in a small volume, along with several other poems by the same author. We present the reader with the following specimen of the composition, being a description of the Highlanders :—

Some might have judged they were the *creatures*  
 Call'd *selfies*, whose costumes and features  
*Paracelsus* doth descry,  
 In his occult philosophy,  
 Or *faunes*, or *brownies*, if ye will,  
 Or *satyres*, come from *Atlas* hill;  
 Or that the three-tongu'd tyke was sleeping,  
 Who hath the *Stygian* door a keeping:  
 Their head, their neck, their leggs, and thighs  
 Are influenced by the skies;  
 Without a clout to interrupt them,  
 They need not strip them when they whip them;  
 Nor loose their doublet when they're hanged.

\* \* \*

But those who were their chief commanders,  
 As such who bore the *pirnie* standarts;  
 Who led the van and drove the rear,  
 Were right well mounted of their gear;  
 With brogues, and trues, and *pirnie* plaides,  
 And good blue bonnets on their heads,  
 Which on the one side had a flipe,  
 Adorn'd with a tobacco-pipe.  
 With dirk, and snap-work, and snuff-mill,  
 A bagg which they with onions fill,  
 And, as their strict observers say,  
 A tasse horn fill'd with usquebay.  
 A slasht-out coat beneath her plaides,  
 A targe of timber, nails, and lides;  
 With a long two handed sword,  
 As good's the country can afford—  
 Had they not need of bulk and bones,  
 Who fight with all these arms at once?  
 It's marvellous how in such weather  
 O'er hill and moss they came together;  
 How in such stormes they came so far;  
 The reason is, they're smeared with tar;  
 Which doth defend them heel and neck,  
 Just as it doth their sheep protect—

\* \* \*

Nought like religion they retain,  
 Of moral honestie they're clean.  
 In nothing they're accounted sharp,  
 Except in bagpipe and in harp.

For a misobbliging word,  
 She'll durk her neighbour o'er the board,  
 And then she'll flee like fire from flint,  
 She'll scarcely ward the second dint :  
 If any ask her of her thrift,  
 Foresooth, her nainsell lives by theft."

Colonel Cleland was not destined long to enjoy his command in the Cameronian regiment, or the better times which the revolution had at length introduced. In August, 1689, the month after the battle of Killiecrankie, he was sent with his men to take post at Dunkeld, in order to prepare the way for a second invasion of the Highlands. The remains of that army which Dundee had led to victory, but without gaining its fruits, gathered suddenly into the neighbourhood, and, on the 21st of August, made a most determined attack upon the town. Cleland, though he had only eight hundred men to oppose to four thousand, resolved to fight it out to the last, telling his men, that, if they chose to desert him, he would stand out by himself, for the honour of the regiment, and the good cause in which he was engaged. The soldiers were animated so much by his eloquence and example, that they withstood the immense odds brought against them, and finally caused the Highlanders to retire discomfited, leaving about three hundred men behind them. Perhaps there was not a single skirmish or battle during the whole of the war of liberty, from 1639, to 1689, which conferred more honour on either party than this affair of Dunkeld. Cleland, to whom so much of the glory was due, unfortunately fell in the action, at the early age of twenty-eight. He was employed in encouraging his soldiers in front of Dunkeld house, when two bullets pierced his head, and one his liver, simultaneously. He turned about, and endeavoured to get back into the house, in order that his death might not discourage his men; but he fell before reaching the threshold.

It is stated by the editor of the *Border Minstrelsy*, but we know not with what authority, that this brave officer was the father of a second colonel Cleland, who flourished in the *beau monde* at London, in the reign of queen Anne, and George I., and who, besides enjoying the honour of having his character embalmed in the *Spectator* under the delightful fiction of Will Honeycomb, was the author of a letter to Pope, prefixed to the *Dunciad*. The son of this latter gentleman was also a literary character, but one of no good fame. John Cleland, to whom we are alluding, was born in 1709, and received a good education at Westminster school, where he was the contemporary of Lord Mansfield. He went on some mercantile pursuit to Smyrna, where he perhaps imbibed those loose principles which afterwards tarnished his literary reputation. After his return from the Mediterranean, he went to the East Indies, but, quarrelling with some of the members of the Presidency of Bombay, he made a precipitate retreat from the east, with little or no advantage to his fortune. After living for some time in London, in a state little short of destitution, he was tempted by a bookseller, for the sum of twenty guineas, to write a novel of a singularly indecent character, which was published in 1749, in two volumes, and had so successful a run that the profits are said to have exceeded £10,000. It is related, that having been called before the privy council for this offence, he pleaded his destitute circumstances as his only excuse, which induced the president, Lord Granville, to buy the pen of the unfortunate author over to the side of virtue, by granting him a pension of £100 a year. He lived many years upon this income, which he aided by writing occasional pieces in the newspapers, and also by the publication of various works; but in none of these was he very success-

ful. He published a novel called the *Man of Honour*, as an *amende honorable* for his flagitious work, and also a work entitled the *Memoirs of a Coxcomb*. His political essays, which appeared in the public prints under the signatures, *Modestus*, a Briton, &c. are said to have been somewhat heavy and dull. He wrote some philological tracts, chiefly relating to the Celtic language. But it was in songs and novels that he chiefly shone; and yet not one of these compositions has continued popular to the present day. In the latter part of his life, he lived in a retired manner in Petty France, Westminster, where he had a good library; in which hung a portrait of his father, indicating all the manners and *d'abord* of the fashionable town-rake at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Though obliged to live frugally, in order that he might not exceed his narrow income, Mr Cleland occasionally received visits from his friends, to whom his conversation, enriched by many observations of foreign travel, and all the literary anecdote of the past century, strongly recommended him. He spoke with fluency the languages of Italy and France, through which countries, as well as Spain and Portugal, he had travelled on his return from the East Indies. He died in his house in Little France, January 23, 1789, at the age of eighty.

CLERK, JOHN, of Eldin, inventor of some invaluable improvements in the modern system of naval tactics, was the sixth son of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, baronet, who filled the situation of a baron in his majesty's Scottish exchequer between the years 1707 and 1755, and was one of the most enlightened men of his age and country. The mother of John Clerk was Janet Inglis, daughter of Sir John Inglis of Cramond. He appears at an early period of his life to have inherited from his father the estate of Eldin, in the neighbourhood of Pennycuik, and southern part of the county of Edinburgh, and to have married Miss Susanna Adam, sister of the celebrated architects, by whom he had several children. The private life of Mr Clerk of Eldin presents as few incidents as that of most country gentlemen. He was distinguished chiefly by his extraordinary conceptions on the subject of naval tactics; and it is to those that we are to direct our chief attention.

In a fragment of an intended life of Mr Clerk, written by the late professor Playfair, and published in the transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, that eminent man begins by remarking that the author of the *Naval Tactics* was one of those men, who by the force of their own genius, have carried great improvements into professions which were not properly their own. The learned professor shows how in many professions, and as particularly in the naval as in any, the individual regularly bred to it is apt to become blindly habituated to particular modes of procedure, and thus is unfitted for suggesting any improvement in it, while a man of talent, not belonging to it, may see possibilities of improvement, and instruct those who are apt to think themselves beyond instruction. "Mr Clerk," he says, "was precisely the kind of man by whom a successful inroad into a foreign territory was likely to be made. He possessed a strong and inventive mind, to which the love of knowledge and the pleasure derived from the acquisition of it, were always sufficient motives for application. He had naturally no great respect for authority, or for opinions, either speculative or practical, which rested only on fashion or custom. He had never circumscribed his studies by the circle of things immediately useful to himself; and I may say of him, that he was more guided in his pursuits, by the inclinations and capacities of his own mind, and less by circumstances and situation than any man I have ever known. Thus it was that he studied the surface of the land as if he had been a general, and the surface of the sea as an admiral, though he had no direct connection with the profession either of the one or of the other.



"From his early youth, a fortunate instinct seems to have directed his mind to naval affairs. It is always interesting to observe the small and almost invisible causes from which genius receives its first impulses, and often its most durable impressions. 'I had, (says he,)\* acquired a strong passion for nautical affairs when a mere child. At ten years old, before I had seen a ship, or even the sea at a less distance than four or five miles, I formed an acquaintance at school with some boys who had come from a distant sea-port, who instructed me in the different parts of a ship from a model which they had procured. I had afterwards frequent opportunities of seeing and examining ships at the neighbouring port of Leith, which increased my passion for the subject; and I was soon in possession of a number of models, many of them of my own construction, which I used to sail on a piece of water in my father's pleasure grounds, where there was also a boat with sails, which furnished me with much employment. I had studied *Robinson Crusoe*, and I read all the sea voyages I could procure.'

"The desire of going to sea," continues Mr Playfair, "which could not but arise out of these exercises, was forced to yield to family considerations; but fortunately for his country, the propensity to naval affairs, and the pleasure derived from the study of them, were not to be overcome. He had indeed prosecuted the study so far, and had become so well acquainted with naval affairs, that, as he tells us himself, he had begun to study the difficult problem of the way of a ship to windward. This was about the year 1770, when an ingenious and intelligent gentleman, the late commissioner Edgar came to reside in the neighbourhood of Mr Clerk's seat in the country. Mr Edgar had served in the army, and with the company under his command, had been put on board admiral Byng's ship at Gibraltar, in order to supply the want of marines; so that he was present in the action off the island of Minorca, on the 20th of May, 1756. As the friend of Admiral Boscawen, he afterwards accompanied that gallant officer in the more fortunate engagement of Lagoo Bay."

To what extent Mr Clerk was indebted for his nautical knowledge to this gentleman, we are not informed; but it appears that previous to the year 1779, he had become very extensively and accurately acquainted with both the theory and practice of naval tactics. The evil to which Mr Clerk more particularly applied his active genius was the difficulty of bringing the enemy to action. The French, when they met a British fleet, eager for battle, always contrived by a series of skillful manœuvres, to elude the blow, and to pursue the object of their voyage, either parading on the ocean, or transporting troops and stores for the attack and defence of distant settlements; and thus wresting from the British the fair fruits of their superior gallantry, even while they paid a tacit tribute to that gallantry, by planning a defensive system to shelter themselves from its effects; in which they succeeded so well that the fleets of Britain and France generally parted, after some indecisive firing. Mr Clerk now assured himself, from mathematical evidence, that the plan followed by the British of attacking an enemy's fleet at once, from van to rear, exposed the advancing ships to the formidable battery of the whole adverse fleet; by which means they were crippled and disabled, either for action or pursuit, while the enemy might bear away and repeat the same manœuvre, until their assailants are tired out by such a series of fruitless attacks. This Scottish gentleman, in the solitude of his country house, where after dinner, he would get up a mimic fight with bits of cork upon the table, discovered the grand principle of attack, which Buonaparte afterwards brought into such successful practice by land—that is to say, he saw the absurdity of an attacking force extending itself over the whole line of the enemy, by which the amount of resistance became every where as great as the force of attack; when it was possible, by bringing the force to bear upon a

\* Preface to the second edition of his "Essay on Naval Tactics," 1804.



particular point, and carrying that by an irresistible weight, to introduce confusion and defeat over the whole. He conceived various plans for this purpose: one was, to fall upon the rear vessels of the enemy, and endeavour to disable him, as it were; another and more splendid idea, was to direct the line of attacking vessels through the line of those attacked; and, by doubling in upon the ships cut off, which of course must strike to so superior a force, reduce the strength of the enemy, and even subject the remaining ships to the risk of falling successively a prey, as they awkwardly endeavoured to beat up to the rescue of their companions. At the time when he was forming these speculations, the British arms suffered great depression, both by sea and land. A series of great and ill-directed efforts, if they had not exhausted, had so far impaired the strength and resources of the country, that neighbouring nations thought they had found a favourable opportunity for breaking the power, and humbling the pride of a formidable rival. In the naval rencounters which took place after France had joined herself to America, the superiority of the British navy seemed almost to disappear; the naval armies of our enemies were every day gaining strength; the number and force of their ships were augmenting; the skill and experience of their seamen appeared to be coming nearer an equality with our own. All this was owing to the generous waste of strength which the British commanders had undergone in their gallant but vain attempts to come to a fair engagement with the enemy.

"Being fully satisfied," says Mr Playfair, "as to the principles of his system, Mr Clerk had begun to make it known to his friends so early as 1779. After the trial of admiral Keppell had brought the whole proceedings of the affair off Ushant before the public, Mr Clerk made some strictures on the action, which he put in writing, illustrating them by drawings and plans, containing sketches of what might have been attempted, if the attack had been regulated by other principles, and these he communicated to several naval officers, and to his friends both in Edinburgh and London. In the following year, [January, 1780] he visited London himself, and had many conferences with men connected with the navy, among whom he has mentioned Mr Atkinson, the particular friend of Sir George Rodney, the admiral who was now preparing to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies. A more direct channel of communication with admiral Rodney, was the late Sir Charles Douglas, who went out several months after the admiral, in order to serve as his captain, and did actually serve in that capacity in the memorable action of the 12th of April, 1782. Sir Charles, before leaving Britain, had many conversations with Mr Clerk on the subject of naval tactics, and before he sailed, was in complete possession of that system. Some of the conferences with Sir Charles were by appointment of the late Dr Blair of Westminster, and at one of these interviews were present Mr William and Mr James Adam, with their nephew, the late lord chief commissioner for Scotland. Sir Charles had commanded the Stirling Castle in Keppell's engagement; and Mr Clerk now communicated to him the whole of his strictures on that action, with the plans and demonstrations, on which the manner of the attack from the leeward was fully developed.

"The matter which Sir Charles seemed most unwilling to admit, was the advantage of the attack from that quarter; and it was indeed the thing most inconsistent with the instructions given to all admirals.

"Lord Rodney himself, however, was more easily convinced, and in the action off Martinico, in April, 1780, the original plan seemed regulated by the principles of the *Naval Tactics*. \* \* \* It was not till two years afterwards, in April, 1782, that lord Rodney gave the first example of completely breaking through the line of the enemy, and of the signal success which will

ever accompany that manœuvre, when skilfully conducted. The circumstances were very remarkable, and highly to the credit of the gallantry, as well as conduct of the admiral. The British fleet was to leeward, and its van, on reaching the centre of the enemy, bore away as usual along his line; and had the same been done by all the ships that followed, the ordinary indecisive result would infallibly have ensued. But the Formidable, lord Rodney's own ship, kept close to the wind, and on perceiving an opening near the centre of the enemy, broke through at the head of the rear division, so that, for the first time, the enemy's line was completely cut in two, and all the consequences produced which Mr Clerk had predicted. This action, which introduced a new system, gave a new turn to our affairs at sea, and delivered the country from that state of depression, into which it had been thrown, not by the defeat of its fleets, but by the entire want of success.

"It was in the beginning of this year, that the [Essay on] Naval Tactics appeared in print, though, for more than a year before, copies of the book had been in circulation among Mr Clerk's friends.<sup>1</sup> Immediately on the publication, copies were presented to the minister and the first lord of the admiralty; and the duke of Montague, who was a zealous friend of Mr Clerk's system, undertook the office of presenting a copy to the king.

"Lord Rodney, who had done so much to prove the utility of this system, in conversation never concealed the obligation he felt to the author of it. Before going out to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies, he said one day to Mr Dundas, afterwards lord Melville, 'There is one Clerk, a countryman of yours, who has taught us how to fight, and appears to know more of the matter than any of us. If ever I meet the French fleet, I intend to try his way.'

"He held the same language after his return. Lord Melville used often to meet him in society, and particularly at the house of Mr Henry Drummond, where he talked very unreservedly of the Naval Tactics, and of the use he had made of the system in his action of the 12th of April. A letter from general Ross states very particularly a conversation of the same kind, at which he was present. 'It is,' says the general, 'with an equal degree of pleasure and truth, that I now commit to writing what you heard me say in company at your house, to wit, that at the table of the late Sir John Dalling, where I was in the habit of dining often, and meeting lord Rodney, I heard his lordship distinctly state, that he owed his success in the West Indies to the manœuvre of breaking the line, which he learned from Mr Clerk's book. This honourable and liberal confession of the gallant admiral made so deep an impression on me, that I can never forget it; and I am pleased to think that my recollection of the circumstance can be of the smallest use to a man with whom I am not acquainted, but who, in my opinion, has deserved well of his country.'

Mr Playfair then proceeds to mention a copy of Mr Clerk's Essay, on which lord Rodney had written many marginal notes, full of remarks on the justness of Mr Clerk's views, and on the instances wherein his own conduct had been in strict conformity with those views; and which copy of the Essay is now deposited in the family library at Pennycuik. The learned professor next relates "an anecdote which sets a seal on the great and decisive testimony of the noble admiral. The present [now late] lord Haddington met lord Rodney at Spa, in the decline of life, when both his bodily and his mental powers were sinking under the weight of years. The great commander, who had been the bulwark of his country, and the terror of her enemies, lay stretched on his

<sup>1</sup> Fifty copies were printed of this edition, and distributed in a private way. The work was not published for sale till 1790. The edition of that year is therefore styled the *first*, and that of 1804, the *second* edition.

couch, while the memory of his own exploits seemed the only thing that interested his feelings, or afforded a subject for conversation. In this situation he would often break out in praise of the *Naval Tactics*, exclaiming with great earnestness, 'John Clerk of Eldin for ever.' Generosity and candour seemed to have been such constituent elements in the mind of this gallant admiral, that they were among the parts which longest resisted the influence of decay."

Mr Playfair then details some of the victories of the succeeding war, in which Mr Clerk's system had been pursued. The great action fought by lord Howe, on the 1st of June, 1794, was, in its management, quite conformable to that system, and its success entirely owing to the manœuvre of breaking the line. Mr Playfair mentions, that Mr James Clerk, the youngest son of the author of the essay, and who was a midshipman on board lord Howe's ship, in 1793, had a copy of the recent edition of the work, "which was borrowed by captain Christian, no doubt for the admiral's use." Lord St Vincent, who possessed a copy of the book, also gained the famous battle off the coast of Spain, by breaking the line of the enemy—as did lord Duncan, the more important victory of Camperdown. But the grandest testimony of all to the excellence of Mr Clerk's system, was the battle of Trafalgar, which finally set at rest the dominion of Britain over the sea. Lord Nelson's instructions on that occasion contained some entire sentences out of the "Essay on Naval Tactics." And it must also be mentioned, that, in his splendid victory of the Nile, he had pursued the same system.

We have hitherto pursued the train of demonstration favourable to Mr Clerk, and to the originality and utility of his system; it must now be mentioned that a controversy, menacing the better part of his reputation, has arisen since his decease. The family of Rodney, in a late publication of his memoirs, disavow the claim made by the friends of Mr Clerk, and maintain, that no communication of that gentleman's plan was ever made to their relative, or that he had the least knowledge of any such book or plan as that of Mr Clerk. Immediately after the publication of this disavowal, Sir Howard Douglas, son of the late Sir Charles Douglas, who was Rodney's captain at the time of the victory, came forward, in a pamphlet, supported by authentic documents, to claim the honour on behalf of his father. It would be vain to enter into a full discussion of the controversy which has arisen on this subject; the result seems to be, that Mr Clerk's friends have not proved that lord Rodney adopted the idea of breaking the enemy's line, on the 12th of April, from his system, although there are several reports, by most honourable men, of acknowledgments from his lordship to that effect. The testimony of these men would, in ordinary cases, be very good; but in this case it is invalidated by a *tache* of a very extraordinary nature, which has fallen upon a particular part of professor Playfair's narrative. In contradiction of the assertion that Mr Clerk had frequent interviews with Sir Charles Douglas, for the explanation of his system, previous to the battle; Sir Howard, the son of that officer, brings forward a letter written by his father at St Lucie, March 2, 1783, in answer to some representation of Mr Clerk's claim, which had been set forward by one of his friends. Of this letter Sir Howard gives the following account and extracts:—

"After acknowledging the receipt of the letter, communicating Mr Clerk's claim to the honour of having suggested the manœuvre of breaking the line, by which the victory had been gained, my father declares 'the whole story to be so far-fetched, improbable, and groundless, as not to deserve a serious refutation.' That, in being so near his commander-in-chief, he had a far more experienced instructor to guide and direct him in the execution of his duty, than the author alluded to; and so entirely positive was he that he had never

spoken on such matters with any civilian of the name, that he took the person to whom allusion had been made, to be a lieutenant Clerk of the navy; but that even of such conversation he (my father) had no recollection whatever. He then instructs his correspondent, that, inasmuch as he is mentioned or alluded to, 'the subject should be treated as a production offensive to himself, and as highly injurious to the person who commanded in chief on that celebrated day,' and who certainly did not stand in need of any instruction derived, or that could be derived, from lieutenant Clerk, or any other person that he knew of.'

Whether Mr Clerk be really entitled or not to the merit of having suggested the manœuvre of breaking the line, there can be no doubt that he conceived on land, and without the least experience of sea life, that idea, at a period antecedent to the time when it was put in practice.<sup>1</sup> There is also no pretence in any quarter to deny, that his system became a guide to all the operations of the British navy subsequent to the particular victory in which it first seemed to be acted upon, and thus was the means of enabling British valour to gain a series of conquests, which unquestionably proved the salvation of the country.

Mr Clerk died at an advanced age, on the 10th of May, 1812; and, strange to say, there exists no public monument whatsoever, to record the gratitude of the country for his services. It may be mentioned, that Mr Clerk was the father of the late John Clerk, Esq. advocate, (afterwards raised to the bench, where he took the designation of lord Eldin,) whose professional abilities, joined to his exquisite taste in the fine arts, and the rich eccentricity of his manners and conversation will long be remembered.<sup>2</sup>

COCHRANE, ARCHIBALD, ninth earl of Dundonald, a nobleman distinguished by his useful scientific investigations, was the son of Thomas, the eighth earl, by Jane, daughter of Archibald Stewart of Torrence; and was born on the 1st of January, 1748. His lordship, before his father's death, entered life as a cornet, in the 3d dragoons, which commission he afterwards abandoned, in order to become a midshipman under his countryman captain Stair Douglas. While stationed as acting lieutenant in a vessel off the coast of Guinea, he had occasion to observe the liability of vessels to be rotted by the sea, which in some cases was so very great, that a few months was sufficient to render them not seaworthy. He conceived the idea of laying them over with tar extracted from coal, a substance which was then little known, though now identified with the very idea of marine craft. The experiment was first tried in Holland, and found to answer all the purposes required. Being then tried upon a decked boat at the Nore, and found equally answerable, his lordship procured a patent of his invention for a short term, which was afterwards (1755) changed for an act of parliament, vesting it in him and his heirs for twenty years. Unfortunately, the general adoption of copper-sheathing rendered the speculation not only

1 Mr Clerk has been heard to acknowledge in the later part of his life, that he never enjoyed a longer sail than to the island of Arran, in the Firth of Clyde.

2 Sir George Clerk Maxwell, of Pennycuik, an elder brother of the author of the *Naval Tactics*, born in 1715, and who succeeded his elder brother, Sir James, in the baronetcy, in 1783, was distinguished by his public spirited efforts to advance the commercial interests of Scotland, at a time when they were in a state of infancy. He established, at a considerable expense, a linen manufactory at Dumfries, and likewise set on foot many different projects for working lead and copper mines. In 1755, he addressed two letters to the trustees for fisheries, manufactures, and improvements, in Scotland, containing observations on the common mode of treating wool in this country, and suggesting a more judicious scheme of management. These were published, by direction of the Board, in 1756. He likewise wrote a paper on the advantages of shallow ploughing, which was read to the Philosophical Society, and is published in the 3d volume of their essays. In 1741, this ingenious person was appointed king's remembrancer, an office of trust in the exchequer, of which his father was then one of the judges; and, in 1763, commissioner of the customs in Scotland. Sir George Clerk Maxwell (the latter name had been assumed for an estate) died in January, 1784.

abortive, but ruinous to the inventor, who had burdened all his estates in order to raise the necessary works. His lordship had succeeded to the family honours in 1778. In 1785, he published two pamphlets—one entitled, “The Present State of the Manufacture of Salt explained,” the other, “An Account of the Qualities and Uses of Coal Tar and Coal Varnish.” In 1795, his lordship published a treatise showing the intimate connection between agriculture and chemistry, and in 1807 he obtained a patent for improvements in spinning machinery. It unfortunately happened that his lordship’s inventions, although all of them seemed to tend to the public good, proved unprofitable to himself. The latter half of his long life was, on this account, spent in embarrassments and privations, which may well excite our sympathy. His lordship was thrice married; first to Anne, daughter of captain Gilchrist of Annafeld, R. N.; secondly, to Isabella, daughter of Samuel Raymond, Esq. of Belchamp, in Essex; thirdly, to Anna Maria Plowden, daughter of the well-known historian of Ireland. By the first of these matches, he had six sons, the eldest of whom, under the designation of lord Cochrane, distinguished himself by his gallant naval achievements in the war of the French Revolution. The following remarks were made in allusion to this noble and unfortunate votary of science, in the annual address of the Registrars of the Literary Fund Society, in the year 1823:—

“A man born in the high class of the old British peerage has devoted his acute and investigating mind solely to the prosecution of science; and his powers have prevailed in the pursuit. The discoveries effected by his scientific research, with its direction altogether to utility, have been in many instances beneficial to the community, and in many have been the sources of wealth to individuals. To himself alone they have been unprofitable; for with a superior disdain, or (if you please) a culpable disregard of the goods of fortune, he has scattered around him the produce of his intellect with a lavish and wild hand. If we may use the consecrated words of an apostle, ‘though poor, he hath made many rich,’ and though in the immediate neighbourhood of wealth, he has been doomed to suffer, through a long series of laborious years, the severities of want. In his advanced age he found an estimable woman, in poverty, it is true, like himself, but of unspotted character, and of high, though untitled family, to participate the calamity of his fortunes; and with her virtues and prudence, assisted by a small pension which she obtained from the benevolence of the crown, she threw a gleam of light over the dark decline of his day. She was soon, however, torn from him by death, and, with an infant whom she bequeathed to him, he was abandoned to destitution and distress, (for the pension was extinguished with her life.) To this man, thus favoured by nature, and thus persecuted by fortune, we have been happy to offer some little alleviation of his sorrows; and to prevent him from breathing his last under the oppressive sense of the ingratitude of his species.”

The earl of Dundonald died in poverty at Paris, on the 1st of July 1831, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

COCKBURN, JOHN, of Ormiston, the Father of Scottish husbandry, was born in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His father, Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, (in East Lothian,) held the eminent office of Lord Justice Clerk after the Revolution. His mother was lady Susan Hamilton, third daughter of John, fourth earl of Haddington. So early as the days of the reformation, the family had distinguished itself by its zeal in behalf of liberal institutions and public liberty. The laird of that day maintained an alliance with the English reformers, when hardly any other Scottish gentleman dared to oppose the tyranny of Beaton; and it was in his house that the celebrated George Wishart was found, previous to his being brought to trial and burnt.

From that period, down to the Revolution, the Cockburns of Ormiston were invariably on the liberal side of the question. The subject of this memoir inherited all the patriotism of his race, and in the lifetime of his father, in his capacity as a member of the last Scottish parliament, took an active interest in accomplishing the union. He was the first representative of East Lothian in the parliament of Great Britain, and continued to be elected to that distinguished place in all the successive parliaments, till 1741. Mr Cockburn, at one period of his parliamentary career, held the post of lord of the Admiralty.

It was not, however, in a political career that this great man was destined to gather his chief laurels. At the close of the 17th century, on account of the religious and civil broils which had so long distracted the country, the condition of agriculture in Scotland was at a very low ebb. The tenantry, so far from being able to make any improvement, were too poor in general even to stock the lands they occupied. Fletcher of Salton, who published a treatise on the affairs of Scotland, in 1698, describes their situation as abject and miserable; and Lord Kaimes, in still stronger language, declares, that, before the union, they were so benumbed with oppression, that the most able tutor in husbandry would have made nothing of them. By a short-sighted policy, the landlords in general had no other principle than to force as much from the soil for every passing year as they could. The tenants were so much disheartened, that it was difficult to let a farm, and none were taken upon leases of more than five years. But, even if other circumstances had been more favourable, there was such a rooted prepossession in favour of old systems, and so much ignorance of the *science* of agriculture, that improvement was almost hopeless.

Lord Ormiston, father of Mr Cockburn, had made an attempt so early as 1698, to break through the old system of short leases. He then granted Robert Wight, eldest son of Alexander Wight, one of his tenants in Ormiston, a lease of the farm of *Muirhouse*, now *Murrays*, to endure for *eleven* years. Mr Wight accordingly commenced enclosing his fields, a process heretofore quite unknown in Scotland. In 1713, lord Ormiston granted to the same person a lease of a neighbouring farm, to endure for *nine* years.

John Cockburn, who became possessed of the estate about the year 1714, immediately entered upon a much more extensive system of improvement. He had marked, with extreme concern, the supine condition of Scottish husbandry, which his parliamentary visits to England had enabled him to contrast with the more fortunate condition of that country; and with an enlarged liberality of soul, which scorned all his own immediate interests for the sake of ultimate general good, he began to grant long leases of his farms upon exceedingly small rents. As an instance it may be mentioned, that he granted to Robert Wight a new lease of the Murrays farm for thirty-eight years, from 1718, at a rent of £750 Scots, or £62 : 10 : 0 sterling, and upon paying £1200 Scots, on £100 sterling, by way of fine or grassum, at the expiration of that term, a renewal thereof for other nineteen years, and so on from one period of nineteen years to another in all time coming: a degree of liberality which speaks more strongly than any thing else possibly could, for the backward state of agriculture at the time. But the enterprising spirit of Mr Cockburn did not rest here. In giving long leases he had enabled his tenants to make the improvements he wished; but still it was necessary to teach them how these improvements should be conducted. For this purpose he brought down skilful persons from England, who introduced the culture of turnips, rape, and clover; and at the same time he sent up the sons of his tenants to study agriculture in the best cultivated districts of the south. Experiments were likewise made of the effects of enriching the land by flooding. Turnips were sown upon the es-

tate so early as 1795, and Alexander Wight, one of his tenants, was probably the first man in the island who sowed them in drills, and cultivated them with the plough. The culture of this valuable root was brought by him to such perfection, that, in 1795, a turnip of his raising, weighing 34½ lbs, was carried to Edinburgh, and hung up in John's Coffee-house as a show.

Even while engaged in his public duties in England, Mr Cockburn was constantly reverting in thought to the improvements he had set on foot in East Lothian, and he carried on a constant correspondence with his tenants respecting the progress of their mutual plans. In some of these letters he breathes the strongest sentiments of benevolence and patriotism. "No person," says he to Mr Alexander Wight in 1795, "can have more satisfaction in the prosperity of his children, than I have in the welfare of persons situated on my estate. I hate tyranny in every shape; and shall always show greater pleasure in seeing my tenants making something under me, they can call their own, than in getting a little more money myself, by squeezing a hundred poor families, till their necessities make them my slaves."

His proceedings were at first the subject of ridicule among the more narrow-minded of his neighbours; but the results in time overpowered every mean feeling, and gradually inspired a principle of imitation. In 1796, he encouraged his tenant Alexander Wight, in setting up a making brewery, and distillery, which soon got into repute, and promoted the raising of grain in the neighbourhood. As a preliminary step to further improvements, he reformed the village of Ormiston, changing it from the original mean and squalid hamlet into a neat and well built street. He then commenced a series of operations for setting up a linen manufactory. This he considered as one of the staple trades of Scotland, and as the best support of the general interest. He viewed it as intimately connected with husbandry; the land affording an opportunity of producing the raw article to the manufacturers; while they in return furnished hands for carrying on agricultural works, especially in harvest, and for the consumption of its various produce. To attain these objects, an eminent undertaker from Ireland, both in the manufacturing and whitening of linen, was induced to take up his residence at Ormiston; and a favourable lease of a piece of ground for a bleachfield and some lands in the neighbourhood was granted to him. This was the first bleachfield in East Lothian, probably the second in Scotland—for, before 1790, fine linens were sent to Haarlem in Holland to be whitened and dressed. It is said that this Irish colony was the means of introducing the potato in Scotland, at least as an object of field culture; and that valuable root was raised in the grounds on this estate so early as 1794. Mr Cockburn also introduced some workmen from Holland, to give instructions in the art of bleaching. He obtained, for his rising manufactory, the patronage of the Board of Trustees, and likewise some pecuniary aid.

About the year 1796, the progress of agricultural improvement at Ormiston had excited so much notice all over Scotland, that Mr Cockburn, always awake to every circumstance which could forward his darling object, seized upon such a notable opportunity of disseminating useful knowledge among his brother proprietors and their tenantry. He instituted what was called the Ormiston Society, composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and farmers, who met monthly for the discussion of some appropriate question in rural economy, settled upon at their former meeting, on which question all the members present delivered their opinion. This club lasted for about eleven years, and was of great service in promoting the views of its founder. It consisted at last of one hundred and six members, comprising almost all the best intellects of Scotland at that time.

Mr Cockburn was married, *first*, in 1700, to the Hon. Miss Beatrix Car-

michael, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Hyndford; *secondly*, to an English lady, related to the duchess of Gordon, by whom he had a son named George. It is distressing to think that, about the year 1748, this great patriot was obliged, probably in consequence of his spirited exertions for the public good, to dispose of his estate to the earl of Hopetoun. He died at his son's house at the Navy Office, London, on the 13th of November, 1758. His son, who was a comptroller of the navy, married Caroline, baroness Forrester in her own right, and was the father of Anna Maria, also baroness Forrester in her own right, who died unmarried in 1808.—Patrick Cockburn, advocate, brother of the agriculturist, was married, in 1731, to Miss Alison Rutherford of Fernlie, a woman of poetical genius, authoress of the more modern verses to the tune of "The Flowers of the Forest," and who died in Edinburgh, November 23, 1794.

It would be difficult to do full justice to the merits of such a character as Cockburn of Ormiston, or to describe the full effects of his exertions upon the interests of his country. It may be said, that he lived at a time when the circumstances of Scotland were favourable to improvement, as it was the first age of re-action after a long depression. But, although the country would have no doubt made great advances without his aid, there can, in our opinion, be little doubt that he considerably anticipated the natural period of improvement, and gave it an impulse much greater than was likely to be otherwise received. On what other principle are we to account for the immense degree to which Scotland now transcends the agriculture of England—the country from which it so recently derived its first hints at the art?

COLQUHOUN, PATRICK, a writer on statistics and criminal jurisprudence, was born at Dumbarton, March 14, 1745. His father, who acted as Registrar of the county Records, was nearly allied to Sir Robert Colquhoun, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and also to Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. Having lost his father ere he attained his sixteenth year, Patrick Colquhoun determined, like many others of his countrymen, to seek his fortune abroad. He settled on what was called the Eastern Shore, in Virginia, where for five years he carried on commercial pursuits. It was the general custom of the inhabitants of this district to cross the Chesapeake Bay twice a year, in order to transact business at the seat of government; and such were the qualifications for public business manifested even at this early period by Mr Colquhoun, that many were in the habit of trusting their concerns to him, instead of going to the general mart in person. Besides carrying on these trading speculations, he studied very hard at this period, and endeavoured, both by reading intelligent books, and conversing with intelligent men, particularly of the legal profession, to fit himself for public duties. In 1766, when twenty-one years of age, he returned to his own country for the sake of his health, and settled as a merchant in Glasgow, where he soon after married a lady of his own name, the daughter of the provost of Dumbarton. On the breaking out of the war with the colonies, Mr Colquhoun's sympathies leant to the side of the government, and, in 1776, he was one of fourteen principal contributors to a fund for raising a regiment in Glasgow, for his majesty's service in that struggle. By this and other means he became a person of some consideration in the eyes of the government, and succeeded, in 1780, in carrying through parliament a bill of great consequence to the trade of the country. In 1781, when occupying a place in the town-council of Glasgow, he suggested and carried forward to completion the design for building the coffee-house and exchange, in that city. Next year, he was elected provost of Glasgow. He now became the founder of that excellent institution, the chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Glasgow, of which he was the first chairman. While holding these distinguished offices, he was also chairman of the



committee of management of the Forth and Clyde canal, and the leading manager of various other public bodies. A genius for business on a large scale was conspicuous in all his undertakings. In 1785, he repaired to London to obtain legislative relief for the cotton trade, then in a languishing condition, and for some years afterwards he devoted a large portion of his time to similar objects. In 1788, he visited Ostend, then a depot for East India goods, to ascertain how far similar British manufactures could enter into competition with the imports of the Flemings; and it was owing to his exertions that our mualins, then an infant manufacture, became so extensively known throughout the continent. Connected with this subject he published three pamphlets, which tended to make his efforts known to the British merchants. In the same year, Mr Colquhoun laid the plan of a general hall in London for the sale of cottons, which, however, was rendered of little effect by the breaking out of the war with France. On this subject he also published a pamphlet. In the month of November 1789, he settled with his family in London, and soon after began to project those improvements in the London police and magistracy, by which he earned the principal part of his fame. The police of London was at this time in a state of shameful inefficiency, while the magistrates, excepting in the city itself, were a set of low mercenary individuals, known by the justly opprobrious title of "trading justices." On this subject Mr Colquhoun composed several popular treatises, and in 1792, when seven public offices were established, with three justices to each, he was appointed to one of them, through the influence of his friend Mr Henry Dundas, afterwards viscount Melville. His exertions as a magistrate were of a nature truly useful; and he published the result of his experience in 1796, under the title of "A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various Crimes and Misdemeanours which at present are felt as a Pressure on the Community, and suggesting Remedies." This work earned a merited reputation, and went through a large annual reprint for the five succeeding years. It obtained the praise of the select committee of finance, and particular marks of approbation from the duke of Portland, then secretary of state for the home department. He was, in consequence of this work, appointed agent in Great Britain for the colony of the Virgin Isles. In 1800, appeared his treatise on the Police of the River Thames, a work certainly demanded in no small degree by the circumstances. Though it may hereafter appear almost incredible, it is nevertheless true, that the shipping of London, previous to this period, was totally unprotected from the vast hordes of thieves which always exist in a large city. While property on the banks of the river was so far protected, that which floated on the river itself had no protection whatever. Accordingly, a generation of thieves called *mudlarks*, prowled constantly about the vessels, and made prey annually of property to a vast amount. Not only did the cargoes suffer, but even sails, anchors, and other such bulky articles, were abstracted by these daring depredators. For many years this had been felt as a grievous hardship, but it is amazing how long an evil may be tolerated for which no remedy has been provided by the necessities of our ancestors. It was looked upon as a matter of course, a mischief incident to the situation of things; and as each individual only suffered his share of the immense amount of loss, there had been no general effort at a reformation. Mr Colquhoun's work, however, effectually roused public attention to the subject, and an effective river police was immediately instituted, by which the shipping has been ever since fully protected. For his services on this occasion, the West India merchants presented him with the sum of five hundred pounds.

Although Mr Colquhoun bore externally a somewhat pompous and domineering aspect, and was certainly a zealous advocate for keeping the people in due

subjection to the powers above them, there never, perhaps, was a heart more alive than his to the domestic interests of the poor, or a mind more actively bent upon improving both their physical and moral condition. He was one of the first men in this country who promoted a system of feeding the poor, in times of severe distress, by cheap and wholesome soups. And, in the famine of 1800, few men were more active in behalf of the starving population. He also took an early interest in the system of charity schools, being of opinion, that the true way of improving the condition of the people, was to enlighten their minds. In 1803, he was instrumental in founding a school in Orchard street, Westminster, in which three or four hundred children of both sexes were taught the rudiments of human knowledge. He also published, in 1806, a work entitled, "A New System of Education for the Labouring People," which obtained an extensive circulation. Two years afterwards, appeared his "Treatise on Indigence," in which the institution of a provident bank is strongly urged.

In 1797, Mr Colquhoun was honoured with the degree of LL.D., by the university of Glasgow, in consequence of his services in that part of the kingdom. Throughout the course of his long and useful life, he received many other testimonies of the public approbation. His last work appeared in 1814, under the title, "A Treatise on the Population, Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire, in every quarter of the world, including the East Indies." Dr Colquhoun's publications in all amount to twenty; and of these an accurate list is given in the Annual Obituary for 1812. After having been concerned in public life for about thirty-nine years, during which he had transacted business with eight or ten successive administrations, in 1817 he tendered his resignation as a magistrate, in consequence of his increasing years and infirmities: this, however, was not accepted by lord Sidmouth, until the subsequent year, when the secretary of state for the home department expressed the high sense entertained of his long and faithful services by his majesty's government. Dr Colquhoun died of a schirrous stomach, April 25, 1820, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The character of Dr Colquhoun has been thus drawn by Dr Lettsom: "When the importance of the morals of the community, with its influence on individual as well as general happiness is duly considered, one cannot but contemplate a public character, who, with unceasing exertion, endeavours to promote every virtuous and charitable sentiment, with gratitude and reverence; a magistrate clothed with power to enforce obedience, but possessing benevolence more coercive than power; who is eminently vigilant to arrest in its progress every species of vice, and commiserates, as a man humanized by Christian amenities, every deviation from rectitude, and reforms while he pities—such is a being clothed with robes of divinity. In this point of view, I, indeed, saw my friend, Patrick Colquhoun, Esq., whose exertions point to every direction where morals require correction, or poverty and distress the aid of active benevolence. As an indefatigable magistrate, and an able writer in general, Mr Colquhoun is well known throughout Europe. I introduce him in this place, as the founder and promoter of various institutions for supplying the poor, in distress, with cheap and nutritious articles of food, to an extent truly astonishing, and without which famine must have been superadded to poverty. The enumeration alone of my friend's publications must evince the activity of his benevolence, with which his time and fortune have ever kept pace. May the reader endeavour to emulate his virtues! He will then not only diffuse happiness among the community, particularly the lower classes, but ensure the supreme enjoyment of it in his individual capacity."

CONSTABLE, ARCHIBALD, an eminent publisher, was born, February 24, 1776, at Kellie in the county of Fife, where his father, Thomas Constable, acted as overseer to the earl of Kellie. After receiving a plain education at the school of his native parish (Carnbee), he became in 1788, apprentice to Mr Peter Hill, bookseller in Edinburgh, the friend and correspondent of Robert Burns. About the time of the expiration of his apprenticeship, he married the daughter of Mr David Willison, printer, who, though averse to the match, was of some service in enabling him to set up in business for himself. This latter step he took in the year 1795, opening a shop on the north side of the High Street, near the cross, and devoting himself at first chiefly to the sale of old books connected with Scottish history and literature. In this line of trade he speedily acquired considerable eminence, not so much by the extensiveness of his stock, for his capital was very limited, as by his personal activity, agreeable manners, and the intelligence with which he applied himself to serve the wants of his customers. At an early period of his career, his shop was resorted to by Mr J. G. Dalzell, Mr Richard Heber, Mr Alexander Campbell, Mr (afterwards Dr) Alexander Murray, Dr John Leyden, Mr Walter Scott, Mr Thomas Thomson, and other young men possessed of a taste for Scottish literary and historical antiquities, for some of whom he published works of no inconsiderable magnitude, previously to the close of the eighteenth century. In 1801, he acquired the property of the Scots Magazine, a venerable repository of historical, literary, and archæological matter, upon which he employed the talents of Leyden, Murray, Macneil, and other eminent men in succession, though without any considerable increase to its reputation. In the preceding year, he had commenced the Farmer's Magazine, under the management of an able East Lothian agriculturist, Mr Robert Brown, then of Markle: this work, which appeared quarterly, for many years enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity, but eventually drooped with the class to whom it appealed, and sank with the house of the publisher.

The small body of ingenious and learned persons who, in 1802, originated the Edinburgh Review, placed it under the commercial management of Mr Constable, who, though unprepared for the great success which it experienced, was not long in perceiving the high merits of its conductors, and acting towards them in an appropriately liberal manner. The business of publishing this great work remained with him for twenty-four years. In 1804, he commenced the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, which remained with him till 1826. It was throughout a successful publication. In 1805, he published, in conjunction with Longman & Co. of London, the first original work of Sir Walter Scott, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," the success of which was also far beyond his expectations. In the ensuing year, he issued a beautiful edition of what he termed "The Works of Walter Scott, Esq.," in five volumes, comprising the poem just mentioned, the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Sir Tristrem, and a series of Lyrical Pieces. Notwithstanding the success of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," Mr Constable was looked upon as a bold man when, in 1807, he offered Mr Scott one thousand pounds for a poem which was afterwards entitled "Marmion." Such munificence was quite a novelty in the publishing trade of Scotland, and excited some attention even in a part of the island where literary affairs had heretofore been conducted on a larger scale. Not long after the appearance of this poetical romance, Mr Constable and his partner had a serious difference with its illustrious author, which lasted till 1813, although in the interval he edited for them the works of Swift, as he had previously those of Dryden. An enumeration of the many valuable books which were afterwards published by the subject of this memoir

would be out of place in the present work ; but the mention of a few, such as Mr J. P. Wood's excellent edition of Douglas's Scottish Peerage, Mr G. Chalmers's Caledonia, the Edinburgh Gazetteer, in six volumes, the Philosophical Works of Mr Dugald Stewart, and the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica, (the stock and copyright of which work he purchased in 1812,) will be sufficient to suggest a career far transcending in enterprise and brilliancy anything of the kind ever known in Scotland. In 1804, Mr Constable had assumed as partner Mr Alexander Gibson Hunter, of Blackness, and from that time the business was carried on under the designation of Archibald Constable and Company. A few years afterwards, when the concerns of the house had become very extensive, Mr Constable thought it a hardship that so much of his wares should pass through the hands of an English agency, who at once absorbed a considerable share of his profits, and could not profess to promote his interest with so much zeal as their own. He and his Edinburgh partner therefore joined, December, 1808, with Mr Charles Hunter and Mr John Park, in commencing a general bookselling business in London, under the designation of Constable, Hunter, Park, and Hunter. This speculation, however, being found to be unattended with the expected advantages, was given up in 1811. In the early part of this year, Mr A. G. Hunter retired from the Edinburgh house, on which occasion Mr Constable, acting on the liberal view which he usually took of the value of his stock, and perhaps not unwilling to impress the world with an exalted idea of his prosperity, allowed to his partner a greater amount of actual cash (seventeen thousand pounds is understood to have been the sum paid,) than what was justly his due. Mr Robert Cathcart of Drum, writer to the signet, and Mr Robert Cadell, then a clerk in Mr Constable's shop, were assumed in Mr Hunter's place, and the firm still continued under the designation of Archibald Constable and Company. Mr Cathcart being carried off after a few days' illness in November, 1812, Mr Cadell remained Mr Constable's sole partner.

Mr Constable and his partner published after 1813, all the poetical works of Sir Walter Scott, and the whole of his prose fictions (excepting the first series of the Tales of My Landlord) down to the year 1836. The vast amount of lucrative business arising from these publications, and others of nearly equal popularity and importance, produced in the subject of this memoir the sincere though erroneous conviction that he was a prosperous, and in one respect a wealthy man. He had never, it is true, possessed much free capital: he had scarcely ever known what it was to be exempt from difficulties for ready money; yet he could calculate for certain on the productiveness of several of his more important speculations, and he every day saw around him such a large and increasing amount of stock, that nothing less than the demonstration of figures could have given him greater assurance of his affluent condition. That demonstration unfortunately was wanting. Mr Constable was no arithmetician. His mind was one of those which delight in forming lofty enterprises and ambitious schemes, but are too much engrossed with the glories of the ultimate object, to regard much the details by which it is proposed to be accomplished. For very many of his publications, the literary labourer was greatly overpaid; in most cases he printed a much larger impression than was necessary, or, if the demand came nearly up to the supply, the benefits of success were lost upon an undemanded second edition. He had a magnificent way of transacting every kind of business, seeming in general less to regard the merits of the matter in hand, than the dignity of his name and profession. Proceeding in this manner, rather like a princely patron of letters, than a tradesman aiming at making them subservient to his personal interest, Mr Constable was easily led

into a system of living greatly beyond his real means, and from which the pressure of no embarrassments, however severe, could awaken him. Another error, to which the steps were perhaps as natural and easy, was his yielding to the desires of his friend Sir Walter Scott, for money, and the means of raising money, as a fore-payment of literary labour. Both men were in some degree intoxicated by the extraordinary success they had met with in their respective careers, which seemed to assure them against the occurrence of any real difficulty in any of the processes of worldly affairs; and, mutually supporting their common delusion, they launched without rudder or compass into an ocean of bank credit, in which they were destined eventually to perish. The reverence of the publisher for the author was not greater than was the confidence of the author in "the strong sense and sagacious calculations," (his own words) of the publisher. Both afterwards discovered that they had been in a great measure wrong, as even the works of a Scott could only produce a certain sum, while the calculations of Mr Constable, though bearing the impress of an ardent and generous temperament, were not conducted upon those rules which alone will ensure good results in commercial affairs. It is painful to reflect on the change which adversity brought over the mutual sentiments of these distinguished men. Mr Constable lived to lament on a death-bed the coldness which the results of his bankruptcy had introduced into the mind of his former friend, and to complain (whether justly or not) that, if he had not been so liberal towards that friend, he might have still known prosperity. Sir Walter, on the other hand, lived to suffer the pain of pecuniary distress in consequence of the loose calculations of himself and his publisher, and to entertain in his benevolent and tranquil mind, so changed a feeling regarding that individual, as prevented him from paying the common respect of a friend to his remains, when, in the hour of calamity and sorrow, they were transferred to the grave.

Mr Constable had in early life entertained literary aspirations only less ambitious than those by which he distinguished himself in commercial life. Though wanting the advantages of an academical education, he wrote his own language fluently and correctly. Scottish antiquities formed the department in which he desired to exert himself, and the present writer has heard him, amidst the pressing cares of business, express a touching regret for the non-fulfilment of the hopes which he once entertained in reference to this favourite study. From respect for his literary abilities, Miss Seward bequeathed to him her whole correspondence, in the expectation that he would personally undertake the duty of editor; a task, however, for which he found it necessary to employ a substitute, in the person of Mr Morehead. The only literary efforts of Mr Constable which have ever been ascertained, consist in the editing of Lamont's Diary in 1810, and of a compilation of "The Poetry contained in the Waverley Novels," and the composition of a small volume which appeared in 1822, under the title of "Memoir of George Heriot, jeweller to king James, containing an account of the Hospital founded by him at Edinburgh." Having become a widower in 1816, Mr Constable, in 1818, married Miss Charlotte Neale, who survived him. In the early part of 1822, he was obliged, by a due regard to his physical and mental energies, to reside for some months in England. It may also be mentioned among the particulars of his life, that, in 1823, though professedly a Whig in politics, he was included by the liberal policy of the government in a list of new justices of the peace for the city of Edinburgh. In the same year, he removed from the warehouse he had occupied for nearly thirty years in the High street, to an elegant mansion adjacent to the Register House, in the New Town, which had become his own by purchase from the connexions of his second marriage.

In the year 1825, Mr Constable projected perhaps the most remarkable of all his undertakings—a Miscellany of Original and Selected Works, in Literature, Art, and Science, which he designed to publish in small *fasciculi* at one shilling, every three constituting a volume. Having marked the tendency towards a system of cheap popular reading, which was at this time very observable in the public mind and in the bookselling business, he had resolved to take advantage of the irresistible impulse, for the reproduction of some of his best copyrights; calculating securely that these, especially if mixed up with new productions from the pens of the best modern writers, would appropriate a large share of the patronage extended by the people to cheap works, while the vast sale that might be expected as a consequence of their humble price, could not fail to afford an ample remuneration to all concerned. The design was one worthy, in its daring novelty and its liberal promise, of a publisher who, in almost all his enterprises, had shown a comprehensiveness of mind above his fellows. Nor can it be doubted that, if carried into execution with the whole powers of the original house, and the prestige which the name of Constable now carried to every British ear, it would have met with a success more than sufficient to redeem the fortunes of the establishment. Unfortunately the commercial distresses which marked the close of 1825, operated unfavourably upon a London firm with which Archibald Constable and Company were intimately connected, and at the close of the January of the ensuing year both were compelled to stop payment. The debts of the latter house were understood to be about a quarter of a million, for a considerable part of which Sir Walter Scott unfortunately stood responsible. The stock, in which the subject of this memoir was wont to contemplate an immense fund of dormant wealth, was consequently sequestered, and its real value, (especially on a peremptory sale) being very different from the apparent, it sufficed to discharge but a small part of the existing obligations.

Mr Constable, who at this time had the young family arising from his second marriage springing up around him, now retired into comparative privacy, to experience the usual fate of those whom fortune has suddenly deserted. Most of his friends, having suffered considerably by his bankruptcy, and being deeply impressed with a sense of the imprudence which had led to that event, paid him no longer any regard, though, while his fortunes lived, they would have given "fifty, nay, an hundred ducats for his portrait in little." Notwithstanding these painful circumstances, to which was soon added a return of some dropsical ailments which had formerly afflicted him, he resolved to make an endeavour for the support of his family, by commencing, though with material restrictions of plan, the Miscellany which had formerly been announced. Having made the necessary arrangements with the trustee upon the sequestered estate, he issued the first number late in the year 1826, being the beginning of a reproduction of captain Basil Hall's Travels, which that gentleman, with a kindness worthy of his distinguished abilities, had conferred as a present upon the veteran publisher. Though unable now to command all the copyrights and new productions which he originally contemplated, he succeeded in calling around him some of the rising talent of the day, and would in all probability have soon been once more engaged in an extensive and enterprising course of business, if death had not stepped in to claim his part. Mr Constable gradually sank under his dropsical ailment, and, on the 21st of July in the year just named, breathed his last, at his house in Park Place, in the fifty-second year of his age. Mr Constable was of middle stature, and, in his latter years, of somewhat unwieldy bulk; his countenance, a fair index to his mind, displayed lineaments of uncommon nobleness and beauty.

COUTTS, THOMAS, who long moved at the head of the monied and banking interest of the metropolis, was the fourth and youngest son of John Coutts, originally of Dundee, and afterwards of Edinburgh, where he held the office of chief magistrate in 1743. The mother of Mr Coutts was a daughter of Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, in Berwickshire, who was the maternal grandson of Miss Grizel Cochrane, daughter of Sir John Cochrane, the associate of Russell and Sidney, in their project for liberating Britain from the tyranny of the last Stuarts. Of this lady, great-great-grandmother to Mr Coutts, the following anecdote has been related by her relation, the late earl of Dundonald.

"Sir John Cochrane being engaged in Argyle's rebellion against James the Second, was taken prisoner after a desperate resistance, and condemned to be hanged. His daughter having noticed that the death warrant was expected from London, attired herself in men's clothes, and twice attacked and robbed the mails (betwixt Berwick and Belford,) which conveyed the death warrants; thus by delaying the execution, giving time to Sir John Cochrane's father, the earl of Dundonald, to make interest with father Petre, (a Jesuit,) king James's confessor, who, for the sum of five thousand pounds, agreed to intercede with his royal master in behalf of Sir John Cochrane, and to procure his pardon, which was effected."

Mr Coutts was born about the year 1731. His father carried on the business of a general merchant, and established the bank which has since attained such distinguished respectability under the auspices of Sir William Forbes and his descendants. An elder son, James, entered into partnership with a banking house in St Mary Axe, London, which corresponded with that of John Coutts and Co., Edinburgh. Subsequently, Thomas Coutts, the subject of the present memoir, entered also into that house. He then became partner with his brother of a banking house in the Strand, which had long been carried on under the title of Middleton and Campbell; and, finally, on the death of his brother, in 1778, he became the sole manager of this extensive concern.

Mr Coutts possessed the accomplishments and manners of a gentleman; plain but fashionable in his dress; sedate in his deportment; punctual and indefatigable in business even to a very advanced age. His great ambition through life was to establish his character as a man of business, and he certainly obtained such a reputation in this respect as few men have enjoyed. Instances are related of his refusing to overlook a single penny in accounts even with those friends to whom he was in the habit of dispensing his hospitality with the most liberal hand. With such qualifications, and blessed with length of days beyond the usual span of human life, it is not surprising that he acquired immense wealth, and placed himself at the head of that important class to which he belonged. Nor was he exclusively a man of business: he enjoyed the society of literary men in a high degree, and was distinguished for his taste in theatricals. He was also a liberal dispenser of his wealth to the poor.

Mr Coutts was twice married:—first to Susan Starkie, a female servant of his brother, James, by whom he had three daughters—Susan, married, in 1796, to George Augustus, third earl of Guilford; Frances, married, in 1800, to John, first marquis of Bute; and Sophia, married, in 1793, to Sir Francis Burdett, bart. About three months after the decease of his first wife, which took place in 1815, he married Harriet Mellon, an actress of some distinction in her profession, whom he constituted, at his death, *sole* legatee of his immense property, consisting of personals in the diocese of Canterbury, sworn under £600,000, besides considerable real estates in lands, houses, &c., and the banking establishment in the Strand. This lady has since become, by marriage, Duchess of



St Albans, and, by her acts of beneficence, has proved herself not unworthy of the great fortune which she has acquired. Mr Coutts' death took place at his house in Piccadilly, February 24th, 1822, about the ninetieth year of his age.

CRAIG, JAMES, M.A., was born at Gifford in East Lothian, in 1682, and educated in the university of Edinburgh. He was first minister at Yester, in his native county, then at Haddington, and finally at Edinburgh, where he was very popular as a preacher. While in the first of these situations, he wrote a volume of "Divine poems," which have gone through two editions, and enjoyed at one time a considerable reputation. In 1733, when settled in Edinburgh, he published "Sermons" in three volumes, 8vo, chiefly on the principal heads of Christianity. He died at Edinburgh in 1744, aged sixty two.

CRAIG, JOHN, an eminent preacher of the Reformation, was born about the year 1512, and had the misfortune to lose his father next year at the battle of Flodden. Notwithstanding the hardships to which this subjected him, he obtained a good education, and removing into England, became tutor to the children of lord Dacre. Wars arising soon after between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and became a monk of the Dominican order. Having given some grounds for a suspicion of heresy, he was cast into prison, but having cleared himself, he was restored to liberty, and returning to England, endeavoured by the influence of lord Dacre to procure a place at Cambridge, in which he was disappointed. He then travelled to France, and thence to Rome, where he was in such favour with cardinal Pole, that he obtained a place among the Dominicans of Bologna, and was appointed to instruct the novices of the cloister. Being advanced to the rectorate, in consequence of his merit, he had access to the library, where happening to read Calvin's Institutes, he became a convert to the Protestant doctrines. A conscientious regard to the text in which Christ forbids his disciples to deny him before men, induced Craig to make no secret of this change in his sentiments, and he was consequently sent to Rome, thrown into a prison, tried and condemned to be burnt, from which fate he was only saved by an accident. Pope Paul IV. having died the day before his intended execution, the people rose tumultuously, dragged the statue of his late holiness through the streets, and, breaking open all the prisons, set the prisoners at liberty. Craig immediately left the city; and, as he was walking through the suburbs, he met a company of banditti. One of these men, taking him aside, asked if he had ever been in Bologna. On his answering in the affirmative, the man inquired if he recollected, as he was one day walking there in the fields with some young noblemen, having administered relief to a poor maimed soldier, who asked him for alms. Craig replied that he had no recollection of such an event; but in this case the obliged party had the better memory: the bandit told him that he could never forget the kindness he had received on that occasion, which he would now beg to repay by administering to the present necessities of his benefactor. In short, this man gave Craig a sufficient sum to carry him to Bologna.

The fugitive soon found reason to fear that some of his former acquaintances at this place might denounce him to the inquisition, and accordingly he slipped away as privately as possible to Milan, avoiding all the principal roads, for fear of meeting any enemy. One day, when his money and strength were alike exhausted by the journey, he came to a desert place, where, throwing himself down upon the ground, he almost resigned all hope of life. At this moment, a dog came fawning up to him with a bag of money in its mouth, which it laid down at his feet. The forlorn traveller instantly recognised this as "a special token of God's favour," and picking up fresh energy, proceeded on his way till



he came to a little village, where he obtained some refreshment. He now bent his steps to Vienna, where, professing himself of the Dominican order, he was brought to preach before the emperor Maximilian II, and soon became a favourite at the court of that sovereign. His fame reverting to Rome, Pope Pius III., sent a letter to the emperor, desiring him to be sent back as one that had been condemned for heresy. The emperor adopted the more humane course of giving him a safe conduct out of Germany. Reaching England about the year 1560, Craig heard of the Reformation which had taken place in his native country, and, returning thither, offered his services to the church. He found, however, that the long period of his absence from the country (twentyfour years,) had unfitted him to preach in the vernacular tongue, and he was therefore obliged for some time to hold forth to the learned in Latin.<sup>1</sup> Next year, having partly recovered his native language, he was appointed to be the colleague of Knox in the parish church of Edinburgh, which office he held for nine years. During this period, he had an opportunity of manifesting his conscientious regard to the duties of his calling, by refusing to proclaim the banns for the marriage of the queen to Bothwell, which he thought contrary to the laws, to reason, and to the word of God. For this he was reprov'd at the time by the council; but his conduct was declared by the General Assembly two years after to have been consistent with his duty as a faithful minister. About the year 1572, he was sent by the General Assembly to preach at Montrose, "for the illuminating the north; and when he had remained two years there, he was sent to Aberdeen, to illuminate these dark places in Mar, Buchan, and Aberdeen, and to teach the youth in the college there." In 1579, Mr Craig being appointed minister to the king, (James VI.) returned to Edinburgh, where he took a leading hand in the general assemblies of the church, being the compiler of part of the second book of Discipline, and, what gives his name its chief historical lustre, the writer of the NATIONAL COVENANT, signed in 1580, by the king and his household, and which was destined in a future age to exercise so mighty an influence over the destinies of the country.

John Craig was a very different man from the royal chaplains of subsequent times. He boldly opposed the proceedings of the court, when he thought them inconsistent with the interests of religion, and did not scruple on some occasions to utter the most poignant and severe truths respecting the king, even in his majesty's own presence. In 1595, being quite worn out with the infirmities of age, he resigned his place in the royal household, and retired from public life. He died on the 4th of December, 1600, aged eighty-eight, his life having extended through the reigns of four sovereigns.

CRAIG, JOHN, an eminent mathematician, flourished at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The only circumstance known respecting his life is, that he was vicar of Gillingham in Dorsetshire. The following list of his writings is given in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*.—"Methodus figurarum, lineis rectis et curvis comprehensarum: quadraturas determinandi. London, 1685, 4to.—*Irratus Mathematicus, de figurarum curvilinearum, &c. et locis geometricis*. London, 1692, 1693, 4to.—*Theologia Christiana Principia Mathematica*. London, 1699, 4to. Reprinted, Leipzig, 1755.—*De Calculo fluentium*, lib. ii. et de optica analytica, lib. ii. London, 1718, 4to.—The quantity of the Logarithmic Curve; translated from the Latin, Phil. Trans. Abr. iv. 318. 1698.—Quantity of Figures geometrically Irrational. Ib. 302. 1697.—Letter containing solutions of two Problems: 1, on the solid of Least Resis-

<sup>1</sup> His Latin discourses were delivered in Magdalen's Chapel, in the Cowgate, Edinburgh; a curious old place of worship, which still exists, and even retains in its windows, part of the stained glass which adorned it in Catholic times.

tance; 2. the Curve of Quickest Descent. Ib. 542, 1701.—Specimen of determining the Quadrature of Figures. Ib. v. 24, 1703.—Solution of Bernoulli's Problem. Ib. 90, 1704.—Of the length of Curve Lines. Ib. 406, 1708.—Method of making Logarithms. Ib. 609, 1710.—Description of the head of a monstrous Calf. Ib. 668, 1712."

CRAIG, THOMAS, author of the Treatise on the Feudal Law, and of other learned works, was probably born in the year 1538. It is uncertain whether he was the son of Robert Craig, a merchant in Edinburgh, or of William Craig of Craigfintry, afterwards Craigston, in the county of Aberdeen. In 1552, he was entered a student of St Leonard's college, in the university of St Andrews, but does not appear to have completed the usual course of four years, as he left the college in 1555, after receiving his degree as bachelor of arts. He then repaired to France, and studied the civil and canon law in some of the flourishing universities of that country. On his return, about the year 1561, he continued his studies under the superintendence of his relation, John Craig, the subject of a preceding memoir. After distinguishing himself in a very eminent degree as a classical scholar, he was called to the bar in February 1563, and in the succeeding year was placed at the head of the criminal judicature of the country, as justice depute, under the hereditary officer, the justice general, an honour vested in the noble family of Argyle. Among his earliest duties in this capacity, was that of trying and condemning Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair, a priest, for having kept the gates of Holyrood house, to facilitate the assassination of Rizzio. In 1566, when James VI. was born, Craig relaxed from his severer studies at the bar, hailed the birth of the royal infant, and predicted the happiness which such an event promised to his unsettled country, in a Latin poem entitled, "*Genethliacon Jacobi Principis Scotorum.*" This, says Mr Tytler, in his elegant work, the life of Sir Thomas Craig, is a poem of considerable length, written in hexameters, and possessing many passages not only highly descriptive of the state of Scotland at this time, but in themselves eminently poetical: it is to be found in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. "Craig," says Mr Tytler, "appears to have been a man of a modest and retiring disposition, averse to any interference in the political intrigues of the times, devoted to his profession, and fond of that relaxation from the severer labours of the bar, which is to be found in a taste for classical literature. While his contemporaries are to be found perpetually implicated in the conspiracies against their mistress the queen, and their names have come down to us contaminated by crime, the character of this good and upright man shines doubly pure amid the guilt with which it is surrounded. Although a convert to the reformed opinions, and from this circumstance naturally connected with the party which opposed the queen, his sense of religion did not confound or extinguish his principles of loyalty. His name appears only in the journal books of the court in the discharge of the labours of his profession, or it is found in the justiciary records under his official designation of justice-depute, or it is honourably associated with the literature of his country; but it is never connected with the political commotions which the money and intrigues of England had kindled in the heart of our nation." Craig pursued an extensive practice at the bar for a period of upwards of forty years, and during all that time, his name is scarcely ever found mingling with the political movements of the times. During the later part of his career, he devoted much of his time to the composition of his learned treatise on the Feudal Law, upon which his reputation principally rests. To describe the law of our country, as he found it established by the practice of the courts in his own age; to compare it with the written books on the feudal law; and to impart to it somewhat of the form and arrangement of

a science, demonstrating, at the same time, its congruity in its fundamental principles with the feudal law of England, such were the objects of Sir Thomas Craig in this work, which he completed in 1603, a period when it might have been of signal service, if published, in removing some of the prejudices which stood in the way of a union between the two countries. The treatise, which was written in a vigorous Latin style, was not, however, put forth to the world till forty seven years after the death of the learned author. The enlarged and liberal mind of Sir Thomas Craig rendered him a zealous promoter of every object which tended to preserve the mutual peace, or facilitate the union of England. In January, 1603, he finished a *Treatise on the Succession*, to further the views of his sovereign, upon the throne about to be vacated by Elizabeth. This work was more immediately occasioned by the celebrated "Conference on the Succession," written by the Jesuit Parsons, under the assumed name of Doleman, in which the right of James VI. was contested in a manner equally able and virulent. The treatise of Craig, probably on account of the quiet succession of James a few months after, was never sent to the press; but an English translation of it was published in 1703 by Dr Gatherer. How much of his time Craig was in the habit of dedicating to the Muses does not appear; but the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* contains another poem written by him on the departure of his native monarch from Edinburgh, to take possession of his new kingdom of England. It is entitled, "Ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem Jacobum VI. e sua Scotia discedentem, Paræneticon." "This poem," says Mr Tytler, "is highly characteristic of the simple and upright character of its author. While other and more venal bards exhausted their imagination in the composition of those encomiastic addresses, the incense commonly offered up to kings, the Paræneticon of Craig is grave, dignified, and even admonitory. He is loyal, indeed, but his loyalty has the stamp of truth and sincerity; his praises are neither abject nor excessive; and in the advices which he has not scrupled to give to his sovereign, it is difficult which most to admire, the excellent sense of the precepts, or the energetic latinity in which they are conveyed." Craig also addressed a similar poem to prince Henry, who accompanied his father to England.

It would appear that Craig either was one of those who accompanied the king to England, or soon after followed him; as he was present at the entrance of his majesty into London, and at the subsequent coronation. He celebrated these events in a Latin hexameter poem entitled, ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ, which is neither the chastest nor the most pleasing of his productions, although the richest in metaphorical ornament and florid description. Craig was, in 1604, one of the commissioners on the part of Scotland, who, by the king's desire, met others on the part of England, for the purpose of considering the possibility of a union between the two countries. He wrote a work on this subject, in which he warmly seconded the patriotic views of the king. This treatise, written, like all his other works, in Latin, has never been published; although, in point of matter and style, in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it perhaps deserves to rank the highest of all his works. The work upon which he appears to have been last engaged, is one upon the old controversy respecting the homage claimed from Scotland by the English monarch. The "De Hominio" of Craig remained in manuscript till the year 1695, when a translation of it was published by Mr George Ridpath, under the title, "Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted, or a Dispute concerning Homage."

Craig was, in the latter part of his life, advocate for the church, and under

that character was employed at the famous trial of the six ministers in 1606, on a charge of treason for keeping a general assembly at Aberdeen. He was, perhaps, unfitted, by his studious and modest disposition, to come farther forward in public life. King James repeatedly offered him the honour of knighthood, which he as constantly refused: he is only styled "*Sir Thomas Craig*," in consequence of an order from the king, that every one should give him the title. He had been married, in early life, to Helen Heriot, daughter of the laird of Trabrown, in East Lothian, to which family belonged the mothers of two great men of that age, George Buchanan and the first earl of Haddington. By this lady he had four sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Craig, the eldest son, who was born in 1569, was raised, at the age of thirty-four, to the bench, where he took the designation of Lord Wrightshouse. As this was in the life-time of his own father, the latter had sometimes occasion to plead before his son. A pleasing tradition regarding the filial respect shown by Sir Lewis, is preserved in the biographical sketch prefixed to the treatise *De Feudis*. The supreme judges in those days sat covered, and heard the counsel who pleaded before them uncovered. "Whenever," says his biographer, "his father appeared before him, Sir Lewis, as became a pious son, uncovered, and listened to his parent with the utmost reverence."

Another family anecdote of a very pleasing character is derived from the same source. The father of Sir Thomas Craig had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion. His son, whose studies, after his return from France, were, as we have seen, superintended by Mr John Craig, the eminent reformer, appears early and zealously to have embraced the new opinions. The old man continued in the faith of the church of Rome till a late period of his life; but, being at length converted by the unanswerable reasons which were incessantly, though reverentially, urged by his son, he became, to the great joy of the subject of this memoir, a convert to the true religion.

This great man died on the 26th of February, 1608, when, if we are right as to the date of his birth, he must have attained his seventieth year.

CRAIG, WILLIAM, a distinguished senator of the college of Justice, and a large contributor to the literary paper styled "the Mirror," was the son of Dr William Craig, one of the ministers of Glasgow; a man of so much eminence, that the editors of the *Biographia Britannica* thought proper to admit an account of him, drawn up by professor Richardson, into their very select collection.<sup>1</sup> The subject of the present memoir was born in 1745, and received his education at Glasgow college, where he attended the classes of Smith in moral philosophy and political economy, and those of Millar in jurisprudence and civil law. His acquirements were at an early period very great, especially in the belles lettres, and to a less degree in history and metaphysics. He entered at the bar in 1768, and was the contemporary and intimate friend of some of the most distinguished men of the last age. Robert Blair, afterwards lord president, Alexander Abercromby, afterwards lord Abercromby, along with Craig and some others, held for some years a private meeting once every week, for mutual improvement in their legal studies. It is remarkable that, at the commencement of Mr Pitt's administration in 1784, Blair, Abercromby, and Craig were appointed together to be depute advocates under Sir Ilay Campbell, who was at the same time nominated lord advocate. Mr Craig held this office till 1787, when he was nominated sheriff of Ayrshire. On the death of lord Hailes in 1792, Mr Craig was appointed to succeed him on the bench, on which occasion he assumed

<sup>1</sup> Dr Craig was author of an *Essay on the Life of Christ*, and of *Twenty Discourses* on various subjects.

the designation of lord Craig. In 1795, he succeeded lord Henderland as a judge of the court of justiciary.

In the concluding number of "the Mirror," which appeared on the 17th of May 1780, it is mentioned that "the idea of publishing a periodical paper in Edinburgh took its rise in a company of gentlemen, whom particular circumstances of connection brought frequently together. Their discourse often turned upon subjects of manners, of taste, and of literature. By one of those accidental resolutions of which the origin cannot easily be traced, it was determined to put their thoughts in writing, and to read them for the entertainment of each other. Their essays assumed the form, and, soon after, some one gave them the name of a periodical publication. The writers of it were naturally associated; and their meetings increased the importance, as well as the number of their productions. Cultivating letters in the midst of business, composition was to them an amusement only; that amusement was heightened by the audience which this society afforded; the idea of publication suggested itself as productive of still higher entertainment. It was not, however, without diffidence that such a resolution was taken. From that and several circumstances, it was thought proper to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to the authors; a purpose in which they have been so successful, that at this moment, the very publisher of the work knows only one of their number, to whom the conduct of it was intrusted."

It is now to be mentioned, upon the credit of the sole survivor of the association above alluded to, that the first idea of starting this periodical work occurred to Mr Craig, who, next to Mr Mackenzie, was the most zealous of them all in the cultivation of the belles lettres. The remaining persons concerned were Mr Alexander Abercromby, of whom a memoir has been given in the present dictionary, Mr Robert Cullen, afterwards lord Cullen, Mr Macleod Bannatyne, afterwards lord Bannatyne, Mr George Home, afterwards lord Wedderburn, and one of the principal clerks of session, Mr William Gordon of Newhall, and Mr George Ogilvy, both also advocates, but of whom the first died, and the latter fell into bad health before having made any contribution to the Mirror. Mr Mackenzie was the only individual unconnected with the bar. The association was at first termed the *Tabernacle*; but when the resolution of publishing was adopted, it assumed the name of the *Mirror Club*, from the title of the projected paper. It was resolved to commit the business of publishing to Mr Creech, the well-known bookseller, and the duty of communicating with him, and of the general superintendence of the work, was devolved on Mr Mackenzie. The club used to meet once a-week, sometimes in one tavern, sometimes in another, in order that their proceedings might be less liable to the observation of their acquaintance. A list of their haunts will tell strangely in the ears of those who, thinking of the Mirror as the pink of elegance in literature, might expect to find that every circumstance connected with its composition was alike elegant. The club met, for instance, sometimes in Clerihugh's, in Writer's court, sometimes in Somers's, opposite the Guardhouse in the High street, sometimes in Stewart's oyster-house in the Old Fish-market close, and fully as often, perhaps, in Lucky Dunbar's, a moderate and obscure house, situated in an alley leading betwixt Forrester's and Libberton's Wynd. On these occasions, any member who had written a paper since the last meeting, produced it to be read and considered. But, as a general invitation had been held out for contributions from persons not members of the club, and a box placed at Mr Creech's shop for receiving them, the papers so contributed, as well as those produced by the members, were read over and considered, and a selection made of those proposed to be adopted. Among these occasional contributors were several individuals of great respectability, of whom we may mention lord Hailes, professor Richard-

son of Glasgow, Dr Henry, author of the History of Great Britain, and Mr David Hume, now one of the barons of exchequer. Some other papers of no inconsiderable merit were supposed to be from ladies. The Mirror was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, and finished with the 110th number on the 27th of May, 1780. It appeared in one small folio sheet, which was sold at three half pence, and though not above four hundred were ever sold of any particular number, the public approbation was so high as to demand the immediate republication of the whole in three volumes duodecimo.

Mr Craig's contributions to the Mirror, which were the most numerous, next to those of Mr Mackenzie, are indicated in a later edition of the work :—

To the Lounger, which was started some years after by the same club, he also contributed many excellent papers.

Lord Craig, who possessed originally a very weak constitution, enjoyed so poor a state of health in his latter years as to be obliged to resign his place on the judiciary bench. He died on the 8th of July, 1813. The mental qualifications of this eminent person were of a very high order. Although his practice at the bar had never been very extensive, he was much esteemed in his character as a judge, his decisions being remarkable for their clearness and precision, while his habits were of a singularly industrious order, considering the state of his health. In private life he was beloved on account of his gentle, unassuming manners, and his eminently benevolent and sociable disposition.

CRAWFORD, DAVID, of Drumsey, near Glasgow, historiographer to queen Anne, was born in 1665, and educated to the bar. Having abandoned professional pursuits in a great measure, for the sake of studying Scottish antiquities and history, he was appointed historiographer royal for Scotland by queen Anne, to whom he was probably recommended by his being a zealous tory and Jacobite. His political prepossessions, which, as usual, extended to a keen zeal in behalf of queen Mary, induced him in 1706 to publish, at London, his well-known work, entitled "Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, containing a full and impartial account of the Revolution in that kingdom, begun in 1667, faithfully compiled from an authentic MS." The avowed purpose of this publication was to furnish an antidote to the pernicious tendency of Buchanan's history. The substance of the work, he says he derived from an ancient MS. presented to him by Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall, and which seemed to have been composed by a contemporary of the events described. In executing the task which he had imposed upon himself, the learned editor appears to have acted after the manner of a good partizan. In order that his work might the more perfectly meet the calumnies of Buchanan, he expunged from it every passage which told in behalf of the views taken by that writer, and introduced others instead from the contemporary tory writers. The work was reprinted by Goodall in 1767, and still continues to be a popular narrative of the events of the *four Regencies*. In 1804, Mr Malcolm Laing, author of the History of Scotland during the seventeenth century, having obtained possession of the original MS. used by Crawford, published it, with a preface, denouncing the historiographer-royal as a rank impostor, inasmuch as he had set off that as a work of authority which had been vitiated for party purposes by his own hand. The same view has been taken of Mr Crawford's character by Mr Thomas Thomson, in the preface to a new print of the MS. for the use of the Bannatyne Club, which appeared in 1825, under the title of "The History and life of king James the sixth." With deference to these writers, it may be suggested, in Crawford's defence, that his work was never pretended to be a faithful transcript of the original MS. except on the title page, where it is so stated by the bookseller *ad captandum*, in obvious contradiction of the statement made by the editor within. The work comes

forth with the character of a special pleading avowed upon the face of it; and those who depended upon such a *refacciamento* as upon a faithful contemporary chronicle, after the account given of it in the editor's preface, had only to blame their own simplicity. The truth is, Crawford's Memoirs, when fully considered with a regard to the ideas prevalent respecting the purity of historical narrative at the beginning of the last century, will only appear an imposture to an opposite partizan. Crawford died in 1726.

CREECH, WILLIAM, an eminent bookseller, was the son of the Rev. William Creech, minister of Newbattle, a most respectable clergyman, and of Miss Mary Beley, an English lady, related to a family of rank in Devonshire. He was born in the year 1745, and received a complete classical education at the school at Dalkeith, which was taught by Mr Barclay, a preceptor of some distinction, who also educated the first viscount Melville, and the lord chancellor Loughborough. He was at first designed for the medical profession, but eventually was bound apprentice to Mr Kincaid, a bookseller in Edinburgh. In the year 1766, Mr Creech went upon a tour of the continent, in company with Lord Kilmaurs, son of the Earl of Glencairn. After his return, in 1771, he was received by his former master into partnership, and finally, in 1773, left in full possession of the business. For forty-four years, Mr Creech carried on by far the most extensive bookselling concern in Scotland, publishing the writings of many of the distinguished men who adorned Scottish literature at the close of the eighteenth century. His shop, which occupied a conspicuous situation in the centre of the old town, and yet, by a curious chance, commanded a view thirty miles into the country, was, during all that long period, the Rialto of literary commerce and intercourse, while his house in the neighbourhood also attracted its more select crowds at the breakfast hour, under the name of *Creech's levee*. While thus busied in sending the works of his friends into the world, he occasionally contributed articles to the newspapers and other periodical works, generally in reference to the passing follies of the day, of which he was a most acute and sarcastic observer. During his own life-time, he published a volume of these trifles, under the title of "Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces," which was re-published with his name, and with some additions, after his death. He was one of the founders of the Speculative Society in 1764.

Mr Creech's style of composition is only worthy of being spoken of with respect to its ironical humour, which was certainly its only feature of distinction. This humour, though said to have been very powerful when aided by the charm of his own voice and manner in conversation, is of too cold, wiry, and artificial a kind, to have much effect in print. It must also be mentioned, that, although very staid and rigid in style, it involves many allusions by no means of a decorous nature.

In private life, Mr Creech shone conspicuously as a pleasant companion and conversationist, being possessed of an inexhaustible fund of droll anecdote, which he could narrate in a characteristic manner, and with unfailing effect. He thus secured general esteem, in despite, it appeared, of extraordinary fondness for money, and penuriousness of habits, which acted to the preclusion, not only of all benevolence of disposition, but even of the common honesty of discharging his obligations when they were due. He died, unmarried, on the 14th of January, 1815.





A

# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

## EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

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C.

CRICHTON, JAMES, commonly styled the *Admirable Crichton*. The learned and accurate Dr Kippis, editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, was the first, we believe, who thoroughly sifted and critically examined the truth or consistency of those marvellous stories which had so long attached to and rendered famous the name of the Admirable Crichton. Many had long doubted their credibility, and many more had been deluded by them. It fell to the lot of this keen critic, by a minute and candid investigation of the truth, to confirm and rectify the minds of both. Biography is but a part of history, and the chief value of both must always rest upon their veracity; and it is no unimportant service rendered to letters, to disabuse them of those apocryphal portions which deteriorate the worth, or render suspicious the quality of what is really genuine. It is but an ungrateful task, we allow, to destroy in the mind its favoured prejudices or delusions; yet these can never be allowed to stand in the way of investigation; and we make no doubt of showing, before the end of this article that inquiry, in the present case, has not been without its advantage.

The biographer whom we have mentioned, has expressed the diffidence and anxiety which he felt on entering upon this life; "being," says he "desirous, on the one hand, not to detract from Crichton's real merit, and, on the other, to form a just estimate of the truth of the facts which are recorded concerning him." We hope to observe the same principle of impartiality; and, after having given the reader the current narration regarding this singular individual, shall afterwards leave to his own discrimination the proofs which, either way affect its authenticity.

James Crichton was the son of Robert Crichton, of Elioock, lord advocate of Scotland, partly in the reigns of queen Mary and king James VI. His mother was Elizabeth Stuart, only daughter of Sir James Stuart of Beith; a family collaterally descended from Murdoch, duke of Albany, third son of Robert III. by Elizabeth Muir, and uncle to James I. He was born in the castle of Clumy, in Perthshire, sometime about the year 1560. This residence had recently been in the possession of the bishopric of Dunkeld, from which it was disavowed during the reformation; and was esteemed, at that time, one of the best houses

in Scotland. It is beautifully situated upon a little island in the middle of the lake of the same name.

Crichton received the first rudiments of his education at Perth, from which place he was removed at an early age to the university of St Andrews, at that time esteemed the first school of philosophy in Scotland. John Rutherford, a name now unknown, but who in his day was famous for his writings upon the logic and poetics of Aristotle, was provost of St Salvator's college; and it was to the care of this professor that the instruction of young Crichton seems to have been principally confided. "Nothing," according to M'Kenzie, "can give us a higher idea of Rutherford's worth and merit than his being master of that wonder and prodigy of his age, the great and admirable Crichton." Aldus Manutius also informs us, that he was educated along with the king under Buchanan, Hepburn, and Robertson. The progress which he made in his studies is said to have been astonishing. He had hardly passed his twelfth year when he took his degree as bachelor of arts; two years afterwards, that of master of arts; being then esteemed the third scholar in the university for talents and proficiency. His excellence did not stop here. Before attaining the age of twenty he had, besides becoming master of the sciences, attained to the knowledge of ten different languages, which he could write and speak to perfection. He had every accomplishment which it is befitting or ornamental in a gentleman to have. He practised the arts of drawing and painting, and improved himself to the highest degree in riding, fencing, dancing, singing, and in playing upon all sorts of musical instruments. It remains only to add, that this extraordinary person possessed a form and face of great beauty and symmetry; and was unequalled in every exertion requiring activity and strength. He would spring at one bound the space of twenty or twenty-four feet in closing with his antagonist; and he added to a perfect science in the sword, such strength and dexterity that none could rival him.

Crichton, now about the age of twenty, and thus accomplished, set out upon his travels; and is said first to have directed his course to Paris. It was customary in that age to hold public disputations in which questions alike abstruse and useless in the scholastic philosophy were discussed. Soon after his arrival in this city, he determined, in compliance with such a usage, to distinguish himself, by a public display of part of those great acquirements of which he felt himself possessed. To this end he affixed placards to the gates of the different schools, halls, and colleges belonging to the university, and to the posts and pillars before the houses of men of learning in the city; inviting all those versed in any art or science, discipline, or faculty, whether practical or theoretic, to dispute with him in the college of Navarre, that day six weeks, by nine of the clock in the morning, where he would attend them, and be ready to answer to whatever should be proposed to him in any art or science, and in any of these twelve languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish, and Sclavonian; and this either in verse or prose, at the discretion of the disputant. We give the challenge pretty fully in this place, that we may have no further occasion to repeat it.

During the interesting interval of the six weeks, Crichton, we are informed, so far from showing the least flutter or uneasiness, or any necessity of preparation, did nothing but divert himself with the various amusements of the gay city. He devoted his time almost entirely to hunting, hawking, riding on a well managed horse, tossing the pike, handling the musket, and other feats of the like kind; or to more domestic trifling, such as balls, concerts, cards, dice, or tennis. This nonchalance is said to have provoked the sneers of the students; and their (as it proved) unlucky satire went the length of affixing a

placard containing the following words on the gate of the Navarre college. "If you would meet with this monster of perfection, to make search for him either in the tavern or the brothel, is the readiest way to find him."

The decisive day at length arrived which had been looked forward to with so much confidence of triumph by the one party, and, we are to suppose, with mixed feelings of curiosity, scorn, or ridicule, by the other. There attended, we are told, at this singular convocation, about fifty professors, doctors of law and medicine, and learned men; and above three thousand auditors. He acquitted himself beyond expression in the disputation, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till six at night. "So pointedly and learnedly he answered to all the questions which were proposed to him, that none but they who were present can believe it. He spake Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages most politely. *He was likewise an excellent horseman*; and truly, if a man should live a hundred years without eating, drinking, or sleeping, he could not attain to this man's knowledge, which struck us with a panic fear; for he knew more than human nature can well bear. He overcame four of the doctors of the church; for in learning none could contest with him, and he was thought to be Antichrist."<sup>1</sup> At the conclusion the president after a speech of high commendation, rose from his chair, and amidst the admiration and acclamations of the whole assembly, presented him with a diamond ring and a purse full of gold. From the event of this day he attained the title of The Admirable Crichton.

Crichton was so little fatigued, we are told, by this Herculean trial of mental prowess, that, on the succeeding day he appeared with all the fire and freshness of youth at a tilting match in the Louvre, and in the presence of several of the ladies and princes of the court of France, carried away the ring fifteen times successively, 'and broke as many lances on *the Saracen*,' a chivalrous pastime of the period so called.

We next find Crichton at Rome; where he soon took occasion to exhibit a similar challenge to that of Paris. Here, in presence of the pope, many cardinals, bishops, doctors of divinity, and professors in all the sciences, he again delighted and astonished all spectators by the amazing proofs which he displayed of his universal knowledge. Boccacino, who was then at Rome, relates the transaction somewhat differently. According to this authority, Crichton's placard runs thus: "Nos Jacobus Crichtonus, Scotus, cuicumque rei propositæ ex improviso respondebimus." This was a bold challenge in the capital of Christendom; and the ridicule which it could not fail to excite shewed itself in a pasquinade, the humour of which is not amiss, though it be local: "And," said this addendum to the challenge, "he that will see it, let him go to the sign of the Falcon and it shall be shown." The Italian further informs us, that this affront, which put Crichton upon the level of jugglers and mountebanks, nettled him so much that he left the place.

He next proceeded to Venice; and it was on his way thither, that he composed one of the four little Latin poems, all, by the way, which remain to prove the literary and poetical talents of Crichton. Of its merit we may remark afterwards; but Aldus Manutius, the younger of the celebrated family of printers, to whom it was inscribed, thought so very highly of it, and on further acquaintance with its author, was so greatly delighted, that he forthwith formed a friendship with him. He was of service in introducing Crichton to some of the principal men of Venice; and among the rest to Laurentius Massa, Sperone Speroni, and Joannes Donatus. A presentation soon followed to the doge and senate, before whom he made an oration, which for brilliant eloquence and consummate grace, we are led to understand, could not be surpassed. In effect, in

<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie's Scottish Writers, vol. iii. p. 119.

the words of Imperialis, talking of him on this occasion, "he was esteemed a prodigy of nature." Here, he likewise disputed upon different subjects in theology, philosophy and the mathematics, before the most eminent professors, in large assemblies. Many people from a distance came to hear and see him; and as a late biographer has alleged, "lives of him were drawn up and published." His visit to Venice was, it is conjectured, in the year 1580.

After a residence of about four months in Venice, during the latter part of which time, he was afflicted with a severe illness, Crichton repaired to Padua, where was a university, whose fame, in that age, was spread over Europe. The day after his arrival, there was convened in honour of him at the house of Jacobus Aloisius Cornelius, a meeting of all the learned men of the place, when Crichton opened the assembly with an encomiastic poem in praise of the city, the university, and the persons present. He then disputed for the space of six hours on matters in general; and, in particular exposed with great judgment the errors of Aristotle and his commentators, which he did, nevertheless, with such engaging modesty, as excited universal admiration. In conclusion, he thought proper to deliver an extempore oration in verse, in praise of ignorance, which was conducted with so much ingenuity, ("in order," says one of his biographers "to reconcile his audience to their comparative inferiority,")<sup>1</sup> that his hearers were astonished, and no doubt highly gratified. Another disputation was to have been held in the bishop of Padua's palace, which some unforeseen circumstances, according to Manutius, prevented. Imperialis, however, differs from this statement; and relates that his father, (then thirteen years of age) had witnessed Crichton upon such an occasion; that he was opposed by Archangelus Mercenarius, a famous philosopher; and that he acquitted himself so well as to obtain the approbation of a very honourable company, and even of his antagonist himself.

In the midst of the great reputation which Crichton now enjoyed, there were not wanting many persons who took occasion to detract from it, affecting to consider him as a literary impostor, whose acquirements were totally superficial. To put an end, at once, to all such cavils or invidious reflections, he caused a challenge, similar to the others already made mention of, to be fixed on the gates of St John and St Paul's church. The chief novelty on this occasion was, that he engaged, at the pleasure of his opponents, to answer them, either in the common logical way, or by numbers and mathematical figures, or in a hundred different sorts of verse. According to Manutius, Crichton sustained this contest without fatigue, for three days; during which time he supported his credit and maintained his propositions with such spirit and energy, that from an unusual concourse of people, he obtained acclamations and praises than which none more magnificent were ever heard by men. It by much exceeded any of his former contests of a similar nature; and it is the last of them of which we have any account.

To Sir Thomas Urquhart, posterity is alone indebted for the next incident recorded in the life of the Admirable Crichton, and its interest has certainly suffered little in coming from the graphic pen of that redoubted fabler. We cannot do better than give the exordium in his own words:—"A certain Italian gentleman, of a mighty, able, strong, nimble, and vigorous body, by nature fierce, cruel, warlike, and audacious, and in the gladiatory art so superlatively expert and dextrous, that all the most skillful teachers of escrime, and fencing-masters of Italy (which, in matter of choice professors in that faculty needed, never as yet to yield to any nation in the world), were by him beaten to their good behaviour, and, by blows and thrusts given in, which they could not avoid, enforced to acknowledge him their overcomer: bethinking himself, how, after

<sup>1</sup> Tytler's Life of Crichton, p. 34.

so great a conquest of reputation, he might by such means be very suddenly enriched, he projected a course of exchanging the blunt to the sharp, and the foils into tucks; and in this resolution, providing a purse full of gold, worth near upon four hundred pounds, English money, travelled amongst the most especial and considerable parts of Spain, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Pole, Hungary, Greece, Italy, and other places, wherever there was greatest probability of encountering with the eagerest and most atrocious duellists; and immediately after his arrival to any city or town that gave apparent likelihood of some one or other champion that would enter the lists and cope with him, he boldly challenged them, with sound of trumpet, in the chief market place, to adventure an equal sum of money against that of his, to be disputed at the sword's point, who should have both." Sir Thomas goes on to relate the success of this bravo of Italy, whose person and character he has sketched with so masterly a pencil. "At last returning homewards to his own country, loaded with wealth, or rather the spoil of the reputation of these foreigners, whom the Italians call *Tramontani*, he, by the way, after his accustomed manner of boarding other places, repaired to the city of Mantua." Having received the protection of the duke, and published his challenge, it was not long before he found opponents willing to engage him on his own terms. "For it happened at the same time, that three of the most notable catters in the world, (and so highly cried up for valour, that all the braves of the land were content to give way to their domineering, how insolent soever they should prove, because of their former-constantly-obtained victories in the field,) were all three together at the court of Mantua; who hearing of such harvest of five hundred pistoles, to be reaped (as they expected) very soon, and with ease, had almost contested among themselves for the priority of the first encounter, but that one of my lord duke's courtiers moved them to cast lots who should be first, second, and third, in case none of the former two should prove victorious." Next ensue the successive calamitous combats of these brave men: for he "whose fortune it was to be the first of the three in the field, had the disaster to be the first of the three that was foiled; for at last with a thrust in the throat he was killed dead upon the ground." The second "was laid flat dead upon the place, by means of a thrust he received in the heart;" and the last, "his luck being the same with those that preceded him, by a thrust in the belly, he, within four and twenty hours after, gave up the ghost."

Sir Thomas manages with the ability, and indeed pretty much in the style, of a standard romancer, the scene which was to wind up the interest of his story to its height. And first he pauses in his narration, to take notice, how these lamentable spectacles caused shame and grief to the "duke and citie of Mantua;" and how "the conquering duellist, proud of a victorie so highly tending to both his honour and profit, for the space of a whole fortnight, or two weeks together, marched daily along the streets of Mantua (without any opposition or controulment) like another *Romulus* or *Marcellus* in triumph." The way thus artfully prepared, the true knight, for whom, as in books of romance, this adventure had been reserved, is introduced—

"—Which the never-too-much-to-be-admired Crichton perceiving—to wipe off the imputation of cowardice lying upon the court of Mantua, to which he had but even then arrived, (although formerly he had been a domestic thereof,) he could neither eat nor drink till he had first sent a challenge to the conqueror, appelling him to repair with his best sword in his hand, by nine of the clock in the morning of the next day, in presence of the whole court, in the same place where he had killed the other three, to fight with him upon this quarrell; that in the court of Mantua, there were as valiant men as he; and, for his better en-

couragement to the desired undertaking, he assured him, that to the foresaid five hundred pistoles, he would adjoin a thousand more ; wishing him to do the like, that the victor, upon the point of his sword, might carry away the richer booty. The challenge, with all its conditions, is no sooner accepted of, the time and place mutually condescended upon, kept accordingly, and the fifteen hundred pistoles, *hinc inde*, deposited, and the two rapiers of equal weight, length, and goodness, each taking one, in presence of the duke, duchess, with all the noblemen, ladies, magnificoes, and all the choicest of both men, women, and maids of that city, as soon as the signal for the duel was given, by the shot of a great piece of ordinance, of three score and four pound ball, the two combatants, with a lion-like animosity, made their approach to one another."

The combat, as it resembles much in management and fashion those with which the reader of old romances must be well acquainted, so does it likewise come up to them in minuteness, we can hardly say tediousness, for of that the author is incapable. Crichton long kept upon the defensive with his adversary, and showed such excellent dexterity, "that he seemed but to play while the other was in earnest." After long fencing, falsifying, and parrying, warding from tierce to quart, priming, and seconding ; and after every variety of posture had been gone through, "the never-before-conquered Italian finding himself a little faint, enters into a consideration that he may be overmatched ;" and sad thoughts seize upon all his spirits. We may indulge the reader with the conclusion of this eventful conflict in the words of its original chronicler ; and in these it may possibly be invested with a propriety and interest, which we would but vainly labour to bestow upon it.

"Matchless Crichton, seeing it now high time to put a gallant catastrophe to that so-long-dubious combat, animated with a divinely inspired ferrency, to fulfill the expectation of the ladies, and crown the duke's illustrious hopes, changeth his garb, falls to act another part, and, from defender turns assailant : never did art so grace nature, nor nature second the precepts of art with so much liveliness, and such observance of time, as when, after he had struck fire out of the steel of his enemies sword, and gained the feeble thereof, with the fort of his own, by angles of the strongest position, he did, by geometrical flourishes of straight and oblique lines, so practically execute the speculative part, that, as if there had been remoras and secret charms in the variety of his motion, the fierceness of his foe was in a trice transqualified into the numness of a pageant. Then was it that, to vindicate the reputation of the duke's family, and expiate the blood of the three vanquished gentlemen, he alonged a *stoccade de pied ferme* ; then recoyling, he advanced another thrust, and lodged it home ; after which, retiring again, his right foot did beat the cadence of the blow that pierced the belly of this Italian ; whose heart and throat being hit with the two former strokes, these three franch bouts given in upon the back of the other : besides that, if lines were imagined drawn from the hand that livered them, to the places which were marked by them, they would represent a perfect isosceles triangle with a perpendicular from the top angle, cutting the basis in the middle ; they likewise give us to understand, that by them he was to be made a sacrifice of atonement for the slaughter of the three aforesaid gentlemen, who were wounded in the very same parts of their bodies by other three such venes as these ; each whereof being mortal, and his vital spirits exhaling as his blood gushed out, all he spoke was this, That seeing he could not live, his comfort in dying was, that he could not die by the hand of a braver man : after the uttering of which words he expiring, with the shril clareens of trumpets, bouncing thunder of artillery, bethwacked beating of drums, universal clapping of hands, and loud acclamations of joy for so great a victory." Crichton generously bestowed the

prize of his victory upon the widows of the brave gentlemen whose deaths he had thus avenged.

In consequence, it is said, of this achievement, and the wonderful proficiency of the young Scotsman, the duke of Mantua made choice of him as tutor to his son, Vincentio di Gonzaga, a young man of dissolute conduct and unsettled principles. The appointment seems to have been gratifying to all parties; and, as Sir Thomas Urquhart informs us, Crichton composed a comedy on the occasion, which he exhibited before the court. This, we must by no means enlarge upon; for though that author's account of the matter is complete and curious, it is of great length, and may with more pleasure and advantage be read at large in the original. The piece, we may only remark, belonged to a class of the drama known by the name of the *Comedia a soggetto*; in which one actor performs all the characters, however numerous; and must appear in the various dresses appropriate to each. The admirable Crichton had his usual success. The composition was regarded as one of the most ingenious satires that ever was made upon mankind. It was the last display, too, of those wonderful talents and endowments which their possessor was destined to make on the stage of this world; and if, in any part of our narrative, we may have betrayed symptoms of incredulity, we lay all such feelings aside, in coming to the concluding circumstance, the tragic nature of which must always excite deep sympathy and regret.

On a night of the carnival, as Crichton was returning from some serenading party, and amusing himself as he went solitarily along, by playing upon his guitar, he was suddenly set upon by five or six armed persons in masks. These with great vigour and bravery, he either put to flight, wounded, or kept at a distance. The one who seemed to be the leader he contrived to disarm; and this person proved to be the prince, his pupil, Vincentio di Gonzaga; for, pulling off his mask and discovering himself, he begged his life. Crichton, on this, fell upon his knees, and expressed the concern he felt for his mistake, alleging that what he had done, he had been prompted to by self-defence; that if his prince had any design upon his life he might always be master of it. Saying this, and taking his sword by the point, he presented it to Gonzaga, who immediately received it; and, the evil passions by which he had been actuated, being inflamed rather than subdued by his shameful discomfiture, he is said instantly to have run his defenceless victor through the heart.

It ought, however, in justice to be said, that the above, though the popular statement of Crichton's death, has been qualified, by more than one of his biographers, in its circumstances of atrocity; and indeed, though such actions assume a different character in Italy from what, happily, we are acquainted with in this country, he ought to have the advantage of every extenuation which impartiality can allow of. It is uncertain whether the meeting occurred by accident or design. Sir Thomas Urquhart, with his usual romance, has told a most extravagant, and it must be allowed, absurd, love story; thus implicating jealousy in the transaction; but the most probable version seems to be, that Crichton was stabbed in a drunken frolic; that the high rank of the one party, and great merit of the other; the relation in which they stood to each other; and the concealment of the real circumstances, came, at length, from the natural love all people, and especially the Italians, have for amplification and exaggeration, to invest the whole in the tragic garb which it now wears.

Great and general, according to the old author we have so often quoted, was the grief and lamentation which this sad event caused in Mantua. The whole court went into mourning for nine months. The epitaphs and elegies written to his memory, and stuck upon his hearse, would exceed, if collected, the bulk

of Homer's works ; and long after, his picture had its place in the closets and galleries of the Italian nobility ; representing him on horseback, with a lance in the one hand, and a book in the other. In a summary of excellences which we cannot help transcribing, the same author thus takes leave of the individual he has in so great a degree tended to exalt :—"Crichton gained the esteem of kings and princes, by his magnanimity and knowledge ; of noblemen and gentlemen, by his courtliness and breeding ; of knights, by his honourable deportment and pregnancy of wit ; of the rich, by his affability and good fellowship ; of the poor, by his munificence and liberality ; of the old, by his constancy and wisdom ; of the young, by his mirth and gallantry ; of the learned, by his universal knowledge ; of the soldiers, by his undaunted valour and courage ; of the merchants and artificers, by his upright dealing and honesty ; and of the fair sex, by his beauty and handsomeness, in which respect he was a masterpiece of nature."

Sir Thomas did not stand so altogether upon his own authority in this, as in other matters we have had to speak of ; and he scarcely, indeed, required so to do. Imperialis, in his account of Crichton's death, declares, That the report of so sad a catastrophe was spread to the remotest parts of the earth ; that it disturbed universal nature ; and that, in her grief for the loss of the wonder she had produced, she threatened never more to confer such honour upon mankind. He was the wonder of the last age ; the prodigious production of nature ; the glory and ornament of Parnassus, in a stupendous and unusual manner ; and farther, in the judgment of the learned world, he was the phoenix of literature, and rather a shining particle of the divine Mind and Majesty, than a model of what could be attained by human industry. After highly celebrating the beauty of his person, he asserts, that his extraordinary eloquence, and his admirable knowledge of things, testified that he possessed a strength of genius wholly divine.

Crichton is supposed to have been in the twenty-second year of his age at the time of his death. One or two pictures are preserved of him ; and there is reason to believe, that they are originals. By these it would appear that his frame was well proportioned, and his head well shaped, though rather small than otherwise. His face is symmetrical and handsome, but has no particular expression of character. There is a print of him in the *Museum Historicum et Physicum* of Imperialis, which, though poorly executed, is probably authentic.

It now remains that something should be said regarding the truth or falsity of accounts so extraordinary as those which we have, with considerable fulness, presented to the reader ; and in this we cannot do better than have recourse to the learned biographer, Dr Kippis, who has already been of so much service to us in the composition of this life. So full, indeed, has that author been upon the subject, and so complete, in his collection and arrangement of the authorities which bear upon it, that it would be difficult, or vain, to pursue another course. One work only, to our knowledge, attempting a refutation of the positions and inferences of the editor of the *Biographia Britannica* has appeared during a space of forty years. This is a *Life of the Admirable Crichton*, with an appendix of original papers by Mr P. F. Tytler. We can see no cause to incline us to give any weight to the arguments of this author ; and should rather say, that the effect of his work, bringing forward and advocating as it does, all that can be advanced and urged in favour of the authenticity, has been to place in a more conspicuous point of view the error and falsity he would attempt to remove. There are few new facts adduced, and these not material. They shall be noticed as they properly suggest themselves to our observation.



In the first place, as to Sir Thomas Urquhart, to whom we are indebted for several of the facts altogether, and who wrote between sixty and seventy years after Crichton's decease, Dr Kippis has objected, generally, that his testimony as to facts is totally unworthy of regard: "his productions are so inexpressibly absurd and extravagant, that the only rational judgment which can be pronounced concerning him is, that he was little, if at all, better than a madman;" that "his design in *this*, a design which appears from his other writings, was to exalt his own family and his own nation at any rate." "So far, therefore, as Sir Thomas Urquhart's authority is concerned, the wonderful exhibitions of Crichton at Paris, his triumphs at Rome, his combat with the gladiator, his writing an Italian comedy, his sustaining fifteen characters in the representation of that comedy, the extraordinary story of the amour which is described as the cause of his death, the nine months mourning for him at Mantua, and the poems hung round his hearse to the quantity of Homer's works, must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful, or rather as absolutely false." It is likewise to be observed, that earlier biographers had no knowledge of the facts enlarged upon by Urquhart. Mr Tytler says not one word of any consequence in defence of this author; at the same time, he takes every advantage of his information, carefully suppressing, which is not a very easy task, whatever is ridiculous or overwrought in the original.

Sir Thomas paved the way for Mackenzie, a writer of a very different character, but who has materially, only in a more sober manner, related the same story. Mackenzie, in regard to the prodigious exertions of Crichton both corporeal and mental at Paris, imagined he had found a full confirmation of them in a passage from the "Disquisitiones" of Stephen Pasquier. In this he was under a mistake. The "Disquisitiones" are only an abridgment, in Latin, of Pasquier's "Des Recherches de la France;" in which work there is indeed mention made of a wonderful youth, such as is related in Mackenzie's quotation, and from which the passage is formed; but Pasquier, who does not tell his name, expressly says, that he appeared in the year 1445. The writer by whom this fact was discovered and pointed out, makes remark, that "Pasquier was born in Paris in 1528; passed his life in that city, and was an eminent lawyer and pleader in 1571; so that it is impossible the feats of Crichton, had they been really performed at Paris, could have been unknown to him, and most improbable, that, knowing them, he would have omitted to mention them; for, in the same book, vi., ch. 39, in which the wonderful youth is mentioned, he is at pains to produce examples of great proficiency, displayed by men in a much humbler rank of life than that of philosophers and public disputants." Dr Kippis observes, that Thuanus was likewise a contemporary, and he, who, in his own life, is very particular in what relates to learned men, makes no mention of Crichton. The "Des Recherches" of Pasquier were printed at Paris in 1596, and their author lived till the year 1615. Thuanus' Memoirs of Himself were published in 1604; and that author lived between the years 1553 and 1617.

Mr Tytler finds much more fault with Mackenzie than we think at all necessary, or to the purpose. "Never, perhaps," says he, "was any biographical article written in more complete defiance of all accurate research." He has said Crichton was born in 1551, instead of placing that event ten years earlier, (an error which it is far from unlikely was a typographical one); he places Robert Crichton of Cluny at the head of the queen's troops at the battle of Langside, instead of the earl of Argyle; he affirms erroneously, that Trajan Boccalini "tells us he [Crichton] came to Rome, Boccalini being then at Rome himself;" he might have known that Crichton was killed in July, "had he weighed the account of Imperialis," and known that the assertion of Urquhart, that his

death happened at the carnival, could not be correct, "yet this accommodating author adopts both stories, without perceiving that there is any inconsistency between them;" he adds expressions of his own to the account of Aldus, and mistakes the testimony of Astolfi; and "concludes his career of misquotation, by placing amongst the catalogue of Crichton's works a comedy in the Italian language," which should not have been there, if, as he asserts, he copied that list from Dempster.

There is a much more important point to settle before coming to these minutiae; and however much the existence of such inconsistencies and inaccuracies may make against these, their correction by no means advances the favourite hypothesis of this author. What matters it spying out little faults on the surface of a great error? Mackenzie had three large folio volumes to write, and could not weigh every little matter with the minute accuracy Mr Tytler would expect of him; as, whether the death of Crichton occurred in July or February, by drawing inferences about the time of the carnival. Nor are his slight variations from ancient authorities, at all more, than what were perfectly warrantable in the process of incorporating them into a continuous narrative. It was not from such blunders, as Mr Tytler would endeavour to persuade us, "that Baillet, Kippis, and Black regarded with doubt, and even treated with ridicule," the fame of Crichton; but it was, in the first place, from the monstrous and unheard-of nature of that reputation, and, on inquiry, its untenable and chimerical foundation.

After Mackenzie, followed Pennant, as a biographer of the Admirable Crichton; and in his account, all the errors of which Mr Tytler complains are perpetuated; it being an exact reprint from that author; "with this difference," says he, "that he rendered detection more difficult; because the Latin passages, which might possibly have excited curiosity, and provoked a comparison with the text and the original, were left out entirely, and a translation substituted in their place." And here we may remark the curious and inadvertent manner in which error will often take place. Sir John Hawkins acknowledges, that Sir Thomas Urquhart has produced no authorities in support of his surprising narrations; but this defect, Sir John thinks, is supplied, in the life of Crichton, which is given in Pennant's tour. Now, Pennant copied immediately from a pamphlet printed at Aberdeen, which, with a few verbal alterations, was identically the life written by Mackenzie; so that his account was but, in a genealogical sense, the great grand relation of the good knight himself. We may notice in this place, for the advantage of the polite reader, that Dr Johnson fell into the same error with his biographer; and credited, if not the whole, at least the greater part, of this marvellous life; and, as we are informed, dictated from memory to Hawkesworth, that delightful sketch of the Admirable Crichton which forms the 81st number of the *Adventurer*.

Having thus cleared the path to the ancient authorities, we come, for the first time, to consider who and what the Admirable Crichton really was. The account which we have already given of his birth, parentage, and success at the university, we hold to be authentic; and to that part, therefore, of the biography we have no occasion to refer. Of the matters spoken of by Urquhart upon his own authority, we have said enough, and they come not within the sphere of such investigation.

And, firstly, we shall take up Aldus Manutius, whose dedication of the "*Paradoxa Ciceronis*" to Crichton, is to be considered as the foundation upon which all the biographies of that individual are built. Of Manutius, Dr Kippis has remarked, that he is to be regarded as the only living authority on the subject; he was contemporary with Crichton; he was connected with him in friend-

ship; and he relates several things on his own personal knowledge. That he is a positive and undoubted witness of Crichton's intellectual and literary exertions at Venice and Padua. Nevertheless, that even this author is to be read with some degree of caution; that dedications are apt to assume the style of exaggeration; and that, with regard to the present, such is the case. That the younger Aldus, besides that he might be carried too far by his affection for his friend, was not eminent for steadiness and consistency of character. That, independently of such considerations, the narrative, previously to Crichton's arrival at Venice, could not be derived from personal knowledge, and in that part he is very erroneous. That he does not appear to have been an eye-witness of the whole of the disputations held at Padua, as, in speaking of the oration in praise of Ignorance, he speaks from hearsay. That he was present at the disputation which lasted three days; but, at the same time, allows, that Crichton's extraordinary abilities were not universally acknowledged and admired; that some there were who detracted from them, and were displeased with Manutius for so warmly supporting his reputation.

Little more than this can, indeed, be said with regard to Aldus, without approaching too near to a flat denial of his assertions. With no such intention, it is not a little instructive to see how he has written upon an occasion similar to the one under consideration. There is prefixed to his edition of Aratus a dedication to a certain Polish scholar of the name of Stanislaus Niegoscousky, part of which we shall present to the reader:—"I send to you," says he, "those verses of Aratus, which have been translated by Cicero—one part to another—but with this difference, that it is a poet of inferior, to one of superior genius. My book, 'De Universitate,' was dedicated to my friend, alas! my departed friend, Crichton. Now that I inscribe to you the verses of Aratus, say, shall I dedicate them to you, as his rival, or his panegyrist, or his superior; or shall I ascribe to you all these characters at once?"—"It is not enough to say that you write verses; you pour them forth with that unexampled animation and facility, which instantly declares that you were born a poet." This dedication was written very shortly after Crichton's decease, as it bears date, 4th November, 1583.

Aldus, we have observed, from Dr Kippis, is to be considered as the only living testimony regarding our subject. Mr Tytler has discovered another, in the shape of an anonymous leaf, bearing the imprint of Venice, 1580. "This," says he, is a most curious and valuable document."—"It exhibits a minute, but confused and ill-arranged catalogue of his [Crichton's] various accomplishments, both mental and physical; of the books he had studied, the feats he had performed, the intellectual battles, in which his prowess had been so remarkably conspicuous. The beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, the nobility of his descent and his services in the French army, are all particularly insisted upon; and upon all these points the highest praise is given, the richest colouring employed." We cannot quote all that Mr Tytler says of this paper; but shall, at once, consider it authentic, and proceed.

We have, indeed, every willingness to consider this as a genuine document; and, with some little deduction on the score of Italian exaggeration, and some little correction of the idolatrousness of expression natural to that people, may, probably, with assistance of it, arrive at a truer notion of the real Crichton, than we have effected hitherto.

The confusion which pervades this production, in so far as it indicates absence of design, we prefer to the studied eulogium of Aldus; and, at the same time, it declares a fact well known to literary men, that the person so writing could not have very clearly understood what he was writing about. We have in it the

confirmation of a suspicion long entertained, that Crichton's wonderful intellectual excellence did, in a great measure, consist in a most astonishing memory. With what discretion he used that faculty, there is not, and there cannot be, any satisfactory proof. His knowledge of so many languages, we at once admit; and this admission but makes the solution of the problem more easy. What mind, we would ask, so divinely endowed as Crichton's is represented to have been, could, in its young feelings, have voluntarily submitted to the drudgery of these twelve tongues; unless memory had been the paramount and principal faculty which it possessed. The paper before us is satisfactorily explicit on this point: "His memory is so astonishing that he knows not what it is to forget; and whenever he has heard an oration, he is ready to recite it again, word for word, as it was delivered. He possesses the talent of composing Latin verses, upon any subject which is proposed to him, and in every different kind of metre. Such is his memory, that, even though these verses have been extempore, *he will repeat them backwards, beginning from the last word in the verse.*" In a conference with the Greeks upon the Holy Spirit, he "exhibited an incalculable mass of authorities, both from the Greek and Latin fathers, and also from the decisions of the different councils." "He has all Aristotle and the commentators at his finger end; Saint Thomas and Duns Scotus, with their different disciples, the Thomists and Scotists, he has all by heart." With a memory so uncommon and astonishing, and it is within our compass to imagine such, it did not require that it should be conjoined with transcendent talent to produce effect.

One passage we ought by no means to omit quoting, as its effect is, in some measure, to bring more familiarly home to our ordinary conceptions, the life and feelings of a man whose fortune it has been to be made the subject of so many strange representations: "He has at present retired from town to a villa, to extend two thousand conclusions, embracing questions in all the different faculties, which he means, within the space of two months, to sustain and defend in the church of St John and St Paul; *not being able to give his attention both to his own studies, and to the wishes of those persons who would eagerly devote the whole day to hear him.*"

Another thing we have to remark upon in this place, is the assertion that Crichton held a command in the French army. We would have inserted this piece of information in the narrative we have given of his life; but confess, that we were at a loss where it should be placed, and so, preferred the old tract as it was. What else remains, may be summed up in a few words. Crichton was handsome in his person; and his address that of a finished gentleman. He possessed also the accomplishments befitting a military man; was an expert swordsman, and rode well.

We shall not task the reader's patience much longer. Of Imperialis, Dr Black very truly remarks, that "his work is a collection of heads, with short eulogies, in which almost every person is represented as a phoenix: and a mass of pompous epithets are heaped together, less for the purpose of celebrating the person, than of showing the eloquence of the author;" and that is "useless for every biographical purpose," as containing the most absurd panegyric. The character of Crichton, by Imperialis, we have already quoted; and by re-considering that piece of silly extravagance, the reader may judge of the moderation of these observations. Independently of all this, Imperialis did not publish his "*Museum Historicum*" till the year 1640; nearly sixty years after the events recorded by him happened. Dr Kippis has remarked, that "the information this author derived from his father was probably very imperfect. Imperialis the elder was not born till 1568; and, consequently, was only thirteen

years old, when Crichton displayed his talents at Padua; and, besides, his authority is appealed to for no more than a single fact, and that a doubtful one, since it does not accord with Manutius's narrative: and who ever heard (asks the learned critic with great simplicity) of the famous philosopher Arcangelus Mercenarius?" Mr Tytler, after a painful research, has discovered that he was a professor in the university of Padua.

The only other authority, which we at all think it necessary to animadvert upon, is that of Astolfi; and, as much is made of his testimony, we shall lay it fully before the reader:—"The abilities of this Scotsman," says he, "are known to all. His name was James Crichton, who appeared like a prodigy in these our times, and was admired for the stupendous powers of his memory. Although a youth of only twenty-two years of age, he yet penetrated into the most recondite sciences, and explained the most difficult passages and the most obscure processes of reasoning in the writings of theologians and philosophers; so that, to all who considered only his early youth, it seemed impossible that he could have read through, to say nothing of committing to memory, such a mass of erudition." That we may not appear invidious in reducing this account, as we have already done a similar one, to, what we conceive to be, consistency; we shall balance it with another contemporaneous document of a rather opposite tendency, that, between the two, we may possibly arrive at something like the truth. This authority is no other than that of the learned Scaliger; the most respectable name which has come in our way, in the course of this inquiry.

"I have heard," says this author, "when I was in Italy, of one Crichton, a Scotsman, who had only reached the age of twenty-one, when he was killed by the command of the duke of Mantua, who knew twelve different languages; had studied the fathers and the poets; disputed *de omni scibili*, and replied to his antagonists in verse. He was a man of very wonderful genius; more worthy of admiration than of esteem. He had something of the coxcomb about him, and only wanted a little common sense. It is remarkable that princes are apt to take an affection for geniuses of this stamp, but very rarely for truly learned men." We do not agree with Mr Tytler, when he says, that the encomium of Scaliger, '*he was a man of very wonderful genius*,' "comes with infinite force when we take into account the sarcastic matter with which it is accompanied;" and we cannot but be painfully sensible of the utter poverty of this well-intentioned writer's cause, when he makes appeal to the reader of the fact, that Crichton was even on terms of intimacy with Sperone Speroni.

It still remains, that we notice the four Latin poems, written by Crichton; and we shall do this in the words of Dr Kippis. "Some fancy, perhaps," says he, "may be thought to be displayed in the longest of his poems, which was written on occasion of his approach to the city of Venice. He there represents a Naiad as rising up before him, and, by the order of the muses and of Minerva, directing him how to proceed. But this is a sentiment which so easily presents itself to a classical reader, that it can scarcely be considered as deserving the name of a poetical invention. The three other poems of Crichton have still less to recommend them. Indeed, his verses will not stand the test of a rigid examination, even with regard to quantity."

"What, then," concludes the same learned authority, "is the opinion, which, on the whole, we are to form of the Admirable Crichton? It is evident, that he was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a flu-

ency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted, whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment.

CRUDEN, ALEXANDER, styled by himself, Alexander the Corrector, was born at Aberdeen, on the 31st May, 1700; the son of a respectable merchant and baillie of that city. Having received a good elementary education, he entered Marischal college, with the intention of studying for the church. He there made considerable progress in his studies, and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him, when decided symptoms of insanity appeared. His malady has been absurdly ascribed to the bite of a mad dog, and, with more probability, to a disappointment in love. At all events it is certain, that he became so unreasonably importunate in his addresses to the daughter of one of the clergymen of Aberdeen, that it was found necessary to put him under restraint. This lady, however, it afterwards appeared was unworthy of the devotion he paid her, and there is a very interesting anecdote of his meeting her many years afterwards in London, where she had hid herself after flying from Aberdeen. On his release from confinement, in 1722, he left the scene of his disappointments, and repairing to England, found employment as tutor for many years in a family in Hertfordshire, and afterwards in the Isle of Man. In the year 1732, he settled in London, where he was employed by Mr Watts the printer as corrector of the press; he also engaged in trade as a bookseller, which he carried on in a shop under the Royal Exchange. Having gained the esteem of many of the principal citizens of London, he was, on the recommendation of the lord mayor and aldermen, appointed bookseller to the queen.

Soon after Cruden's arrival in London, he had commenced his elaborate work called the Concordance of the Bible; and having, after inconceivable labour, finished it, he had the honour of dedicating and presenting it to queen Caroline, the consort of George II., who graciously promised to "remember him;" but, unfortunately for him, she died suddenly a few days after. Involved in embarrassments by the expense of publishing his Concordance, and by his neglect of business while he was compiling it, he abandoned his trade, and sunk into a state of melancholy despondency. His former mental disease now returned upon him with increased violence, and he was guilty of so many extravagances, that his friends were obliged to place him in a private lunatic asylum. On his recovery he published a lengthened account of his sufferings, under the title of, "The London Citizen exceedingly injured; giving an account of his severe and long campaign at Bethnal's Green, for nine weeks and six days; the Citizen being sent there in March, 1738, by Robert Wightman, a notoriously conceited whimsical man; where he was chained and handcuffed, strait-waistcoated and imprisoned; with a history of Wightman's blind bench, a sort of court that met at Wightman's room, and unaccountably proceeded to pass decrees in relation to the London Citizen," &c. &c. He also instituted legal proceedings against his physician and this Mr Wightman, the proprietor of the asylum, for cruelty. He was not able, however, to substantiate his charge, although there is much reason to fear, that, in pursuance of the treatment to which lunatics were at that time subjected, Cruden was harshly dealt with; which seems to have been the less excusable as he appears to have been at all times harmless.

The next fifteen years of his life were passed by him apparently in a state of inoffensive imbecility, although his former employers did not consider him incapable of continuing corrector of the press. In the year 1753, his relations conceived themselves justified in again putting him under restraint; but as he was perfectly inoffensive he was only confined for a few days. On his liberation he insisted that his sister, Mrs Wild, who sanctioned these proceedings, should consent to a species of retributory reconciliation with him, and submit to a confinement of forty-eight hours in Newgate, and pay him a fine of ten pounds. Her rejection of this proposal was a matter of great surprise to him, and he therefore brought an action of damages against her and others, laying his claim at ten thousand pounds. On the verdict being returned for the defendants, he was quite resigned; but published an account of his ill usage, under the title of "*The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector*," which, like all his other publications of a similar description, has that air of mingled insanity and reason which its title indicates, and which pervades other works by him on similar topics. His insanity now displayed itself in many ways sufficiently whimsical. Fully persuaded that he was commissioned by heaven to reform the manners of the age, he assumed the title of *Alexander the Corrector*. To impress the public with the validity of his pretensions he printed and circulated on small pieces of paper, sentences confirmatory of his high calling, such as that "Cruden was to be a second Joseph, to be a great man at court, and to perform great things for the spiritual Israel of Egypt." He went about the country exhorting the people to reform their manners and to keep holy the Sabbath day. In order that his exhortations might have greater weight with his hearers, he wished his authority to be recognised by the king and council, and that parliament should constitute him by act, "*the Corrector of the People*." Still farther, to assist him in his mission, he made a formal application to his majesty, to confer on him the honour of knighthood; "for," said he, "I think men ought to seek after titles rather to please others than themselves." He gives an amusing account of his attendance at court while soliciting this honour, and of his frequent interviews with the lords in waiting, the secretaries of state, and other persons of rank; and complains grievously that his applications were not attended to. From his censure, however, he exempts the earl of Paulet, who, he says, "spoke civilly to him; for, being goutish in his feet, he could not run away from the Corrector as others were apt to do." Wearied, at length, by his unavailing attendance at court, he next aspired to the honour of representing the city of London in parliament, and was a candidate at the general election of 1754. His addresses to the livery were singularly ridiculous, but he was withheld by no discouragement; for, when one of the bishops, with whom he had obtained an interview, intimated to him that he had no chance of the election, unless Providence especially appeared for him. "This," he said in his account of the interview, "the Corrector readily acknowledged;" and indeed in his addresses he mentioned that he expected a Divine interposition in his favour. After his failure in this pursuit, he consoled himself with the reflection, "that he had tried his hearts, although their hands had been promised away." "*The Corrector*," he adds, "was very cheerful and contented, and not at all afflicted at the loss of his election."

Cruden, as a lover, was remarkably susceptible, and no less zealous in the pursuit of the objects of his admiration, than in his attempts to attain political distinction. Amongst others, Miss Abney, the daughter of Sir Thomas Abney, the late lord mayor of London, was persecuted by his addresses. She, of course, discountenanced this folly, and the result was, what her admirer styled, "his declaration of war," being a lengthened memorial, wherein he rehearsed his mani-

fold grievances, and declares, that, since she had refused all his more reasonable overtures, he was now determined to carry on the war after an extraordinary manner, "by shooting of great numbers of bullets from his camp; namely, by earnest prayers to heaven, day and night, that her mind may be enlightened and her heart softened." This, and all his other absurdities, had their rise in the desire to increase his own importance and wealth, by which he expected to render himself more powerful and effective in the execution of his imaginary mission for the reformation of the manners of the age. In 1754, he was employed as corrector of the press, by Mr Woodfall, the well-known publisher of Junius' Letters; and, although his labours seldom terminated before one in the morning, yet he would be found again out of bed by six o'clock, busily employed turning over the leaves of his Bible, and with the most scrupulous care amending and improving his Concordance, preparatory to a new edition. In this drudgery he would patiently work until the evening, when he repaired to the printing office.

The benevolence which animated Cruden's exertions for the benefit of his fellow-creatures was most disinterested and unwearied; and as far as his advice or money went, he aided all who were miserable or in distress. In the year 1762, he was the means of saving the life of a poor sailor condemned for forgery: having been present at the trial, he became persuaded that the accused had been the dupe of one more designing than himself, and, as he afterwards found him to be simple, and even ignorant of the nature of the crime for which he was condemned to suffer; he importuned government so unceasingly, that at last he succeeded in getting the punishment commuted into banishment. On another occasion he rescued a wretched female from the streets, and received her into his house; and, having instructed her in her duties, she remained in his service until his death. Next to the desire of doing good, loyalty seems to have been the most prominent feature in Cruden's character. In the political struggle between Mr Wilkes and the administration he wrote a pamphlet against the Rabble's Patriot, and went about with a sponge and rubbed from the doors and walls of the metropolis the popular "No. 45."

In the year 1769, Cruden once more visited the scenes of his youth, where he was received with considerable respect, and was allowed the use of one of the public halls to deliver a lecture on the necessity of a reformation of manners, and of keeping holy the Sabbath day. Having remained about a year in Aberdeen, he returned to London, and soon after, having complained for a few days previous, he was found dead in his closet, in the pious attitude of prayer. He died at his lodgings in Camden Street, Islington, 1st of November, 1770, in the 71st year of his age. Never having been married, he left his moderate savings among his relations, with the exception of £100, which he bequeathed to endow a bursary in Marischal college, Aberdeen, and some other trifling legacies for charitable purposes in the metropolis. Cruden was remarkable for the courteous affability of his manners, his active benevolence, and his pious devotion. His published works are "*The history of Richard Potter*," 8vo. being that of the poor Sailor whose life he saved. "*The history and excellency of the Scriptures prefixed to the compendium of the Holy Bible*," Aberdeen, 2 vols. 24mo. "*An index to bishop Newton's edition of Milton's Works*;" an elaborate work only inferior to the Concordance. "*A Scripture-Dictionary*," which was published in Aberdeen soon after his death. Various pamphlets, particularly those wherein he gives a detailed account of "*His adventures*." These display some humour and much single-hearted insanity. But his great work was his "*Concordance of the Old and New Testaments*." This is a work of the most extraordinary labour, and although it was not the first



Concordance of the Bible, yet it affords a wonderful instance of what individual industry may accomplish. The first Concordance which was compiled, is said to have given employment to five hundred monks, yet did Cruden by his own unassisted exertions produce one infinitely more complete, elaborate, and accurate than had ever appeared, and this not by copying from others, but by the most careful examination and study of the Bible. It is satisfactory to know that the labour bestowed on this work did not go unrewarded. Although the first edition was for a long time unsuccessful, it was ultimately sold off, and in 1761, thirty years after its publication, a second edition was called for, which he dedicated to George III. who was graciously pleased to order him a hundred pounds, and a third edition was published in 1769. For the second edition the publishers gave Cruden five hundred pounds, and when the third was called for, an additional present of three hundred pounds, besides twenty copies on fine paper. An edition was published in 1810, under the careful superintendence and correction of Mr David Bye, and in 1825, the work had reached the 10th edition. Indeed so valuable and useful is this work that it is now reckoned an indispensable part of every clerical library.

CRUICKSHANKS, WILLIAM, F.R.S. an eminent surgeon in London, the assistant, partner, and successor of the famous Dr William Hunter of the Windmill Street Anatomical School, was the son of an officer in the excise, and was born at Edinburgh in the year 1745. After completing the elementary branches of his education at the schools of Edinburgh, he commenced the study of divinity at that university; but he soon forsook his clerical studies and directed his attention to medicine. With a view to that profession, he removed to Glasgow, where he went through a complete course of medical education at the university. Having devoted eight years of his life to assiduous study, he obtained, through the recommendation of Dr Pitcairn, the situation of librarian to Dr William Hunter of London; and so highly did that great man estimate his talents, that he soon after appointed him his assistant, and ultimately raised him to the honour of being his partner, in superintending his establishment in Windmill Street. On the death of Dr Hunter in the year 1783, the students of that institution thought so favourably of Mr Cruickshanks' professional acquirements, that they presented an address to him, and to the late Dr Baillie, requesting that they might assume the superintendence of the school; which they did.

Mr Cruickshanks is known to the world by his medical publications; and as a teacher and writer he acquired a high reputation for his knowledge of anatomy and physiology. In the year 1786, he published his principal work "*The Anatomy of the absorbent vessels of the Human Body*," a production of acknowledged merit, which has been translated into several languages. He also wrote an ingenious paper on the nerves of living animals, which establishes the important fact of the regeneration of mutilated nerves. This paper, however, although read before the Royal Society, was not published in the transactions of that body until several years afterwards. This delay was owing to the interference of Sir John Pringle, who conceived that Mr Cruickshanks had controverted some of the opinions of the great Haller. In the year 1797, Mr Cruickshanks was elected fellow of the Royal Society. In 1799, he made his experiments on insensible perspiration, which he added to his work on the absorbent vessels. He had suffered for many years from acute pain in the head, and although warned that this pain arose from extravasated blood settled upon the *sensorium*, and that the greatest abstinence in his regimen was indispensable in order to prevent fatal consequences, yet, regardless of this warning, he continued to live freely; and as had been foreseen, he was cut off suddenly in

the year 1800, in the 55th year of his age. With much personal and intellectual vanity, Mr Cruickshanks was an excellent anatomist and able physiologist, and a cool and skilful surgeon. He was generous and truly benevolent, literally going about doing good. He was one of the medical men who had the melancholy honour of attending Dr Samuel Johnson in his last illness. In 1773, he was married to a lady from Dundee, who died in the year 1795, by whom he had four daughters.

CULLEN, WILLIAM, M.D., one of the most highly gifted and accomplished physicians that Scotland has produced, was born on the 15th of April, 1710,<sup>1</sup> in the parish of Hamilton, in the county of Lanark. His father was by profession a writer or attorney, and also farmed a small estate in the adjoining parish of Bothwell, and was factor to the duke of Hamilton. His mother was the daughter of Mr Robertson of Whistlebury, the younger son of the family of Robertson of Ernock. The family consisted of seven sons, and two daughters, and the subject of the present biographical sketch was the second son. His father dying shortly after the birth of the youngest child, his mother afterwards married Mr Naismyth, a writer in Hamilton.

Poverty is too often the inheritance of genius, and in the present instance, although in a respectable station of life, the parents of young Cullen, from the scantiness of their means, found it necessary to place him at the grammar school of Hamilton. Institutions of this kind, are conducted on a scale so peculiarly liberal and extensive in Scotland, that in them the rudiments of education are often better and more profoundly taught, than they are in schools frequented by the children of the richer and higher classes of society. Accordingly at this grammar school Dr Cullen received the first part of his education. There are people here, says Mr John Naismyth (the minister of the parish in 1792,) who remember him at school, and saw him in girl's clothes, acting the part of a shepherdess in a Latin pastoral.<sup>2</sup> We do not find any anecdotes of him at this early period of his life, which indicate the features of the character he afterwards displayed; but we are informed that he was here particularly distinguished by the liveliness of his manner;—by an uncommon quickness of apprehension and by a most retentive memory; qualities which he continued to possess to the latest period of his life. Although the funds possessed by his family were not, as we have already intimated, very ample, he was sent from the grammar school of Hamilton to the university of Glasgow; and at the same time was bound apprentice to Mr John Paisley, who was a member of the faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, and enjoyed an extensive practice in that city. It does not appear that he went through a regular course of education at this seminary, but having early chosen medicine as a profession, the classes which he attended were probably regulated with a view to that object. "I am able," says Mr Bower, "to give only a very imperfect account of the manner in which medicine was taught at the time when Cullen's residence was fixed in Glasgow. There were professors whose business it was to give lectures on medical science; but these were on a comparatively small scale, and bore no proportion to the opportunities now afforded to students of physic in that university. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the principal means of improvement, which at this time he had within his power, were derived from observing his master's practice, and perusing such medical works as he could pro-

<sup>1</sup> In most of the biographical notices published of Dr Cullen, the date of his birth is referred to the year 1712, an error corrected by Dr Thomson, in his elaborate life of Dr Cullen, 8vo. 1832, who states the year of his birth to have been 1710, on the authority of the Session Record of the parish of Hamilton.

<sup>2</sup> Statist. Acc. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 201.

cure."<sup>3</sup> Little is known concerning the persons with whom Dr Cullen associated at this period ; but that he acquitted himself satisfactorily and honourably, and gained the approbation and esteem of his master is evident from the flattering manner in which Mr Paisley acted towards him ; for many years after his apprenticeship had terminated, when Dr Cullen was a lecturer in the university of Glasgow, Mr Paisley testified his regard for him, by throwing open his library for the use of his students. The life of a man so devoted to science must necessarily be of a studious and sequestered character ; but, that he felt that desire of distinction, which is so often the indication of superior talents and the best pledge of future improvement, appears, by a circumstance related of him by one of his early friends, the late Mr Thom, minister of Govan. This gentleman mentioned to Dr Thomson, that if Cullen happened to be in the company of his fellow students, when any subject of speculation or debate was started with which he was imperfectly acquainted, he took very little share in the conversation, but when they met again, if the same discussion happened to be introduced, he never failed to show that in the interval he had acquired a more useful knowledge of the question, in all its bearings and details, than that to which the best informed of his companions could pretend.

Having terminated his studies at Glasgow, Dr Cullen, towards the end of the year 1729, went to London, with the view of improving himself in his profession, and there, soon after his arrival, through the interest of commissioner Cleland, who was a friend of Pope, and author of a letter prefixed to one of the editions of the *Dunciad*, he obtained the appointment of surgeon to a merchant ship, which traded between London and the West Indies. On the occasion of this appointment he underwent a medical examination, at which he acquitted himself with satisfaction to his examiners, "who," says his younger brother, "were pleased to pay him some very flattering compliments, and to encourage him strongly to persevere in that diligence which it was evident to them he had employed in the study of his profession." Mr Cleland, a relation of his own, was fortunately the captain of the vessel in which he obtained this appointment. During the voyage in which he was now engaged, he did not neglect the opportunity it afforded him of studying the effects of the diversity of climate on the human constitution, and the diseases which are so prevalent and fatal in our West Indian settlements. The facts he then gathered—the observations he then made,—he subsequently referred to in his lectures in Glasgow and in Edinburgh. After returning from the West Indies he remained a short time in London, where he attended the shop of Mr Murray, an apothecary ; and it is supposed that here it was that he first paid particular attention to the study of *materia medica*. About this period—the end of the year 1731, or the beginning of the year 1732—in consequence of the death of his eldest brother, the duty of arranging his father's affairs devolved upon him ; besides which, the necessity of providing for the education of his younger brothers and sisters, rendered it expedient for him to return to Scotland. Aware of these circumstances, his friend, captain Cleland, invited him to reside with him at his family estate of Auchinlee in the parish of Shotts, and to take charge of the health of his son, who was affected with a lingering disorder. This situation was peculiarly convenient for Dr Cullen in commencing the practice of his profession, for it was near to Hamilton, the place of his birth, and in the vicinity of the residences of many of the most respectable families in the county of Lanark, besides which, it was in the neighbourhood of his patrimonial property, the lands of Saughs, and of another small farm which belonged to his family in the parish of Shotts. Whilst residing there, he seems to have combined with his

<sup>3</sup> History of the University, vol. ii. p. 377.

medical practice the most unremitting application to his studies. Captain Cleland was often heard to say, that nothing could exceed his assiduity at this period; for when not engaged in visiting patients or in preparing medicines, his time was wholly occupied with his books.

Dr Cullen having remained practising in this situation nearly two years, succeeded to a small legacy by the death of a relation, and still ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, he determined to devote his attention exclusively to his studies, before fixing himself as a medical practitioner in the town of Hamilton. Accordingly he proceeded to the retired village of Rothbury, near Wooler in Northumberland, where he resided with a dissenting clergyman, and was there chiefly occupied with the study of general literature and philosophy. How long he remained there has not been exactly ascertained; but immediately afterwards he went to Edinburgh, where, engaged in the prosecution of his general studies, he remained during the winter sessions 1734-35-36. The medical school of the university of Edinburgh was at this period only beginning to attain the celebrity it now enjoys; for although professorships to each of the different branches of medical science had been instituted, and several attempts had been made to systematise a course of instruction, it was not until the year 1720, that these important objects were carried into effect. When Dr Cullen commenced his studies at this university, the celebrated Monro lectured on anatomy; the amiable and humane Dr St Clair on the theory of physic; Drs Rutherford and Jones on the practice of physic; Dr Plummer on chemistry; and the learned and the indefatigable Dr Alston on *materia medica* and botany. All these distinguished individuals having been pupils of the great Boerhaave, taught from their several chairs his doctrines, which for upwards of forty years held unlimited sway in the medical school of Edinburgh. The Royal Infirmary, although in progress, was not at this time open to the public, nor were the advantages that are to be derived from clinical lectures yet recognised. A useful adjunct to this school of medicine was at this period formed, by the institution of the Medical Society, which originated in the latter end of the August of 1734. Dr Cleghorn, Dr Cuming, Dr Russel, Dr Hamilton, Mr Archibald Taylor, and Dr James Kennedy, then fellow students at Edinburgh, and intimately acquainted with each other, after spending a social evening at a tavern, agreed to meet once a fortnight at their respective lodgings, where it was arranged that a dissertation in English or Latin on some medical subject should be read, and afterwards discussed by the auditors. Dr Cullen, says the History of the Society, with the discrimination, characteristic of a mind devoted to activity, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge, hastened, as appears from a part of his correspondence still preserved, to unite himself with a society, which even in its infancy had honours and advantages at its disposal. In its labours it may safely be presumed he took a prominent and animated share, and there can be no doubt that the value of its discussions were both attested and augmented by his distinguished participation.<sup>4</sup> This Society, thus humble in its commencement subsequently held its meetings in a room in the Royal Infirmary, until adequate funds having been raised, the building, known as the hall of the Medical Society in Surgeon's Square, was founded. On this occasion an elegant and appropriate oration was delivered by Sir Gilbert Blane, after which "the assembly rising to fulfil the purpose of their meeting, proceeded to the adjacent area, where the foundation-stone was laid by Dr Cullen, who, having shared the labours of the association during its early infancy, had now lived to participate the well earned triumph of its more mature age."<sup>5</sup> This fact is worthy

<sup>4</sup> History of the Medical Society of Edinburgh, printed for the Society, xxi.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

of commemoration, because it was in the hall of that society that the doctrines of Boerhaave received their refutation, while they were yet taught within the walls of the university; and it is in the same hall of that society that the doctrines of Dr Cullen himself, are now as keenly contested, and are already, to the satisfaction of many persons, as satisfactorily overthrown. It appears indeed as if there were a fatality attending all systems of philosophy and science; for however correct the facts may appear on which such superstructures are raised, the progress of discovery must, by adding to our knowledge new facts, modify and alter the relations of those previously known, and thus undermine the whole foundation on which the superimposed fabric seemed to rest in perfect security.

Dr Cullen continued his studies in Edinburgh until the spring of 1736, when he left it, to commence business as a surgeon in Hamilton, where he appears to have been employed by the duke and duchess of Hamilton, and all the families of any consideration in that neighbourhood. During his residence there, the duke of Hamilton was attacked with an alarming disease, which did not readily yield to the remedies he prescribed, and therefore it was deemed advisable to call in Dr Clerk, who was accordingly sent for from Edinburgh. This accomplished physician highly approved of Dr Cullen's management of the duke's case, and was so pleased with Dr Cullen, that he ever afterwards took every opportunity of cultivating his friendship. Thence arose an interesting correspondence between them on various literary and professional subjects, which, on the part of Dr Clerk, was chiefly conducted through his son, Dr David Clerk. In the year 1757, this intercourse was terminated by the death of Dr Clerk, on which occasion Dr Cullen evinced his esteem and respect for his deceased friend, by writing an account of his life and character, which he read to a numerous meeting of their mutual friends, held in the hall of the Royal Infirmary.

Dr Cullen appears to have been peculiarly fortunate in the choice of his companions and friends; among whom we find many individuals whose names are an ornament to science and literature. At Hamilton he became acquainted with Dr William Hunter, with whom he ever afterwards continued on terms of the greatest intimacy, each living to see the other placed, by the concurrent suffrages of their medical brethren, at the head of his own department of medical science. Dr Cullen and Dr William Hunter are said to have projected a singular partnership at this period; the popular account of which is, that being sensible of the great importance of a more scientific education than was then commonly enjoyed, and generously solicitous to increase each other's medical attainments, beyond the mere demands of lucrative occupation, they agreed, that each should alternately be at liberty to study for a season at Edinburgh or London, while the other conducted the business in the country for their mutual emolument:—but this does not appear to have been the true object of their arrangement. When Dr William Hunter became the friend of Dr Cullen, it is evident that Dr Cullen had completed his elementary education, and the agreement that took place between them was, that Dr William Hunter should go and prosecute his medical studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return to settle in Hamilton, as a partner of Dr Cullen, the object of which partnership was to enable Dr Cullen, who disliked the surgical department of his profession, to practise only as a physician; while his friend and partner, Dr William Hunter, was to act among their connections only as a surgeon. Dr Hunter's biographer, Dr Foart Simmons, gives the following account of the nature and termination of this arrangement, "which," says Dr Thomson, "is, I have reason to believe, strictly correct. His father's consent having been previously obtained, Mr Hunter, in 1737, went to reside with Dr Cullen. In the

family of this excellent friend and preceptor he passed nearly three years, and these, he has been often heard to acknowledge, were the happiest years of his life. It was then agreed that he should go and prosecute his studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return and settle in Hamilton in partnership with Dr Cullen. Mr Hunter, after prosecuting his studies for a winter at Edinburgh, went to London, where he was introduced to Dr James Douglas, who was at that time engaged in the composition of his great anatomical work on the bones, and looking out for a young man of abilities and industry, whom he might employ as a dissector. This induced him to pay particular attention to Mr Hunter; and finding him acute and sensible, he desired him to make another visit. A second conversation confirmed the Doctor in the good opinion he had formed of Mr Hunter; and, without any further hesitation, he invited him into his family to assist in his dissections, and to superintend the education of his son. Mr Hunter having communicated this offer to his father and Dr Cullen, the latter readily and heartily granted his concurrence to it, but his father, who was very old and infirm, and expected his return with impatience, consented, with reluctance, to a scheme, the success of which he thought precarious." Dr Cullen having, for the advantage of his friend, thus generously relinquished the agreement between them, was for a time deprived of a partner; but still determining to practise only as a physician, he took the degree of doctor of medicine at Glasgow in 1740, and, in the following year, entered into a contract with Mr Thomas Hamilton, surgeon, on terms similar to those which had been formerly agreed on, between him and Dr Hunter.

Dr Cullen, during his residence at Hamilton, was twice elected magistrate of that place; first, in the year 1738, and again in the year 1739. While in the magistracy, he appears to have taken an active share in the agricultural improvements, beginning at that time to be introduced into the west of Scotland. He frequently attended the meetings of the trustees appointed for the improvement of the high roads, and was much consulted by them on the different matters that came under their consideration. Some of his papers relative to these subjects, exhibit singular proofs of habits of arrangement, and accuracy in transacting business, and a knowledge of rural and agricultural affairs, which must have rendered his advice particularly acceptable.<sup>1</sup> Agriculture was a study which continued at an after period of his life to interest his attention; for we find him, when a lecturer on chemistry, endeavouring to throw light upon it by the aid of chemical science; and, in the year 1758, after finishing his course of chemical lectures, he delivered, to a number of his friends and favourite pupils, a short course of lectures on agriculture, in which he explained the nature of soils, and the operation of different manures.

Dr Cullen, early in life, became attached to Miss Anna Johnstone, daughter of the Rev. Mr Johnstone, minister of Kilbarchan, in the county of Renfrew. She was nearly of his own age; and he married her on the 13th of November, 1741. Mrs Cullen is described to have been a woman who possessed many personal charms; and also great mental endowments. Dr Anderson, who was the contemporary and intimate friend of Dr Cullen remarks,—“She was beautiful, had great good sense, equanimity of temper, an amiable disposition, and elegance of manners; and brought with her a little money, which, although it would be little now, was something in those days to one in his situation of life. After giving him a numerous family, and participating in the changes of fortune which he experienced, she peacefully departed this life, in the summer of 1786.”<sup>6</sup>

After his marriage, Dr Cullen continued for three years to practise as a phy-

<sup>6</sup> The Bee, vol. i. 7.

sician at Hamilton; during which period, when not engaged in the more active and laborious duties of his profession, he devoted his time to the studies of chemistry, natural philosophy, and natural history; nor is there any doubt but that at this time, he was preparing and qualifying himself to teach those branches of science, on which he very shortly afterwards became so eminent a lecturer. Hitherto the prospects and advantages held out by the duke of Hamilton, prevented his seeking a wider and more appropriate field for the display of his abilities; but after the death of the duke, which happened at the end of the year 1743, he was induced, by the solicitations of his personal friends, and of many respectable families, to transfer his residence to Glasgow. He settled in that city in the end of the year 1744, or beginning of 1745, at which period Dr Johnstone was professor of medicine in the university, and Dr Hamilton was the professor of anatomy and botany, but neither of them gave lectures. Dr Cullen, who, we have already seen, possessed an active and enterprising mind, soon perceived the possibility of establishing a medical school in Glasgow, similar to that which had been established in Edinburgh. Accordingly, in the summer of 1746, he made arrangements with Dr Johnstone, the professor of medicine, to deliver, during the following winter, a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, in the university. This course lasted six months; and, in the following session of 1747, with the concurrence of Dr Hamilton, the professor of botany, besides lecturing on the practice of physic, he gave lectures, in conjunction with a Mr John Garrick, the assistant of Dr Hamilton, on *materia medica* and botany. Dr Cullen in his practice of physic class never read his lectures; in allusion to which practice, he observed, "written lectures might be more correct in the diction, and fluent in the style, but they would have taken up too much time that might be otherwise rendered useful. I shall be as correct as possible; but perhaps a familiar style will prove more agreeable than a formal one; and the delivery more fitted to command attention."

In the first lecture which Dr Cullen delivered in Glasgow, it is worthy of remark, that after explaining to his audience his reasons for not adopting as text books the *Institutions* and *Aphorisms* of Boerhaave—works at that period usually employed in the different medical schools of Europe—he added, "I ought to give a text-book myself; but shall not attempt it until after a little more experience in teaching. In the meantime, I shall endeavour to supply its place by an easy clear order and method, so that the want of it may be less felt." The modesty of feeling expressed by this determination not to publish any text-book, until a "little more experienced," is consonant with that pure spirit of philosophy which always characterises a high independent mind, that is animated by the love of truth, and not by the vain desire of personal aggrandisement. Dr Cullen, in delivering his lectures on the practice of physic, deviated from the old custom of lecturing in Latin, and gave his lectures in the English language, which was decidedly a very judicious innovation on the old practice, which was one of a monkish character. His lectures on botany were, however, delivered in Latin; and fortunately the notes of these lectures being still preserved, controvert the allegation that he adopted the custom of lecturing in the English because he was unable, from ignorance, to lecture in the Latin language. This decidedly was not the case; nor is there any reason to believe that he was actuated by any other motive in adopting this new custom, excepting that of facilitating the communication of knowledge to his students; an object which, throughout his whole life, he kept most steadily in view.

As the institution of a course of lectures on chemistry was essential to a regu-

lar medical school, Dr Cullen proposed to the faculty of the university of Glasgow, that lectures should be permitted to be given on that branch of science by himself, and Mr John Garrick, brother of the late Robert Garrick, Esq. of Hamilton, who was at that time assistant to Dr Hamilton, the professor of anatomy. These proposals having been approved, and the necessary preliminary arrangements made, the lectures on chemistry were commenced by Mr Garrick; but he being taken ill, the remaining part of the course was delivered by Dr Cullen. In commencing his second course of chemistry, Dr Cullen printed and distributed among his students, "The plan of a course of chemical lectures and experiments, directed chiefly to the improvement of arts and manufactures, to be given in the college of Glasgow, during the session 1748." But besides these lectures, Dr Cullen, in the summer of 1748, gave lectures in conjunction with Mr Garrick, on *materia medica* and botany. Of the lectures delivered on *materia medica* only a few fragments of notes have been preserved; and these are not sufficient to afford a precise idea of the general plan which he followed. The lectures on *materia medica* and botany were again delivered in 1749; but how long they were delivered after that period has not been ascertained.<sup>7</sup> In his lectures on botany, Dr Cullen followed the system of Linnæus, in reference to which, in one of his lectures introductory to the practice of physic, he observes, "When a little more than thirty years ago, I first got a sight of the Botanical System of Linnæus, the language in which it was expressed appeared to me a piece of the most uncouth jargon and minute pedantry that I had ever seen; but in length of time it became as familiar to me as my mother tongue; and with whatever difficulties this system was received in most parts of Europe, it has now surmounted these, and its utility has reconciled every person to the study of it." In thus introducing the Linnæan system of botany into the course of instruction at the university of Glasgow, Dr Cullen displayed no ordinary sagacity; for although the natural arrangements of Jussieu and Decandolle are now chiefly taught in the universities of this country, yet the artificial classification of Linnæus was the ladder by which botanists ascended securely to the generalizations of the natural system, and is still of great use in determining generic and specific distinctions. After Dr Cullen discontinued his lectures on botany, he still pursued his botanical studies; as appears from a letter of a Danish physician, which contains the answer of Linnæus to certain queries that had been referred to him by Dr Cullen. It does not appear from the MS. of Dr Cullen, that any intercourse was kept up after this between Linnæus and him; but Dr Thomson finds a letter from one of the pupils of Linnæus, requesting the introductory letters on botany which Dr Cullen had promised to Linnæus. Already it must be obvious that Dr Cullen, in devoting his attention so minutely, to so many branches of science, displayed a mind of no ordinary activity and comprehensiveness. He seems, indeed, to have felt in its full force the observation of Cicero, that "all the sciences are connected, tending to each other a mutual illustration and assistance."

During the period that he lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, the celebrated Dr Black became his pupil; and as Dr Cullen throughout his whole career as a lecturer and as a professor, took a warm interest in the progress of every emulous student, he was not long in discovering the talents of his young pupil. Professor Robinson, in his memoir of the life of Dr Black, observes, that Dr Cullen was not long in attaching Mr Black to himself in the most intimate co-operation, inasmuch, that the latter was considered as an assistant in all his operations, and his experiments were frequently introduced into the lecture as good authority. Thus began a mutual confidence and friendship, which did honour both

<sup>7</sup> The Bee, vol. i. 7.



to the professor and his pupil, and was always mentioned by the latter with gratitude and respect. Dr Black, after remaining nearly six years at the college of Glasgow, left it to terminate his studies in Edinburgh; and Dr Cullen continued to correspond with him during the time of his studies. Many of these letters have been preserved, and relate principally to the chemical investigations in which they were mutually engaged; but Dr Thomson observes, that, "During this intercourse, Dr Cullen seems to have been careful to avoid entering on any field of inquiry, in which he anticipated that his pupil might reap distinction." A letter of Dr Black's occurs, wherein, alluding to this ungenerous procedure, he thus addresses Dr Cullen:—"I received your packet of chemistry, which rejoiced me extremely. A new experiment gives me new life; but I wonder at the *reserve* and *ceremony* you use with respect to me. Did I learn chemistry from you only to be a bar to your enquiries? The subject is not so limited as to be easily exhausted, and your experiments will only advance me so much farther on." Helvetius, and many other philosophers have maintained, that all mankind must be more or less actuated by the dictates of self-interest; and difficult as it may be to analyse the motives by which human conduct is often regulated, yet it cannot be concealed that the narrow-minded policy which Dr Cullen in this instance betrayed, was significant of a selfishness altogether unworthy of the general tenor of his character.

During the period that Dr Cullen lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, his attention was particularly directed to the general doctrines of heat, on which various observations are found among his manuscripts, that have been preserved. The only essay which he published on this subject appears in the second volume of the Edinburgh Philosophical and Literary Transactions. He also, in the end of the year 1753, transmitted to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, a paper, entitled, "Some Reflections on the Study of Chemistry, and an essay towards ascertaining the different species of salts; being part of a letter addressed to Dr John Clerk." This letter afforded a specimen of an elementary work on chemistry, which he at that time meditated; but which, from other multifarious occupations, he did not execute. The reputation he was now daily acquiring as a lecturer on chemistry, obtained for him the acquaintance of many persons of distinction, who were celebrated for their talents and love of science. Among these was Lord Kaimes, then Mr Home, who, being devoted to scientific pursuits, naturally found pleasure in the correspondence and society of a man, whose mind was so congenial to his own. Lord Kaimes was especially delighted to find that Dr Cullen had devoted so much attention to his favourite pursuit, agriculture; and continually urged him to publish a work on this important science. That Dr Cullen had at this period made some progress in the composition of a work on agriculture, we learn from Dr Thomson, who informs us of the existence of a manuscript, part of which is in Dr Cullen's own handwriting, entitled, "Reflections on the principles of Agriculture." Among his papers there is also an essay "On the Construction and Operation of the Plough;" composed apparently about the same period, and read before some public society, most probably the philosophical society in the college of Glasgow. The object of this essay was to explain the mechanical principles on which ploughs have been constructed, to find out what is the importance and effect of each part, and to examine what variation each, or all of them, require according to the difference of soil in which they are employed. In the year 1752, Dr Cullen's opportunities of cultivating agriculture were increased by his undertaking to manage and to improve the farm of Parkhead, situated about eight miles from Glasgow, which he had purchased for his brother, Robert Cullen, Esq. who was at the time employed in a mercantile situation in the West Indies. But much as the

attention of Dr Cullen was devoted to it, it does not appear that he published any thing theoretical or practical on agriculture; but he corresponded with lord Kaimes very particularly on the subject, and the letters that transpired between them are well worthy of perusal.

Dr Cullen, about the end of the year 1749, was introduced to the earl of Islay, afterwards the duke of Argyle; and, according to the authority of Dr Thomson, the introduction took place through the interest of lord Kaimes, who made a request to that effect through Mr Lind, the secretary to the duke. This appears from a letter addressed to Dr Cullen by Mr Martine, and which proceeds thus:—"August, 1749. Mr Lind, at Mr Home's desire, talked very particularly about you to the duke of Argyle; and your friends here desire that you will wait on his grace upon his arrival at Glasgow, which will be to-morrow evening." We are furthermore informed that the more immediate cause of Dr Cullen's being introduced to the duke of Argyle at this time, was to obtain his grace's consent and patronage to his succeeding Dr Johnstone as professor of medicine in the Glasgow university. A venerable member of the college of justice, who, in his youth, knew Dr Cullen, and remembers him well, has favoured us with the following anecdote. About this period, the duke of Argyle being confined to his room in Roseneath castle with swelled gums, sent for Dr Cullen. His grace, who was fond of dabbling occasionally in medicine, suggested a fumigation of a particular kind, and described an instrument which he thought would be suited to administer it. Dr Cullen, willing to humour his new patron, instantly set off for Glasgow, procured the instrument, which was made of tin, according to the fashion described, and sent it early next morning to Roseneath. The noble patient finding it adapted to the purpose required, and feeling himself better after the fumigation, was much pleased with the attention of his physician, in whose welfare he subsequently took considerable interest. The duke of Argyle had himself been educated at the university of Glasgow, had made a distinguished figure there, and had chosen the law as his profession. He afterwards studied law at Utrecht, but, on returning to Scotland, changed his determination, adopted the military profession, and became one of the most accomplished politicians of his age. By the influence of this nobleman with the crown, Dr Cullen was appointed to be the successor of Dr Johnstone in the university of Glasgow, and was formally admitted as the professor of medicine in that university, on the 2d of January, 1751.

During the residence of Dr Cullen in Glasgow, he still devoted a considerable portion of his time to chemistry, more especially investigating its application to the useful arts. He endeavoured particularly to suggest various improvements in the art of bleaching, and proposed an improved method in the manufacture or purification of common salt; which consisted in precipitating the earthy ingredients contained in the brine of sea-water, by a solution of common potash, by which a salt is obtained more pure than that prepared in the ordinary manner; but owing to this process being too expensive to be adopted in the manufacture of salt on a large scale, it has never yet been brought into general use. He wrote on this subject an essay, entitled, *Remarks on Bleaching*, which remains among his manuscript papers, but appears never to have been published, although a copy of it was presented to the board of trustees for the Encouragement of Fisheries, Arts, and Manufactures, in Scotland, in the records of which institution, for June, 1755, it is mentioned, that "three suits of table linen had been given as a present to Dr William Cullen for his ingenious observations on the art of bleaching."

From the period of his appointment to be professor of medicine in the university of Glasgow, until the year 1755, Dr Cullen, besides his lectures on chemis-

try, delivered annually a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic. He also projected at this period the design of publishing an edition of the works of Sydenham, with an account, in Latin, of his life and writings; but although he made some few preparations to commence this work, he very shortly abandoned the undertaking. Dr Thomson informs us, that his private practice at this time, although extensive, was by no means lucrative, and as a considerable portion of it lay in the country, he had but little time to pursue his scientific studies. These circumstances seem to have induced some of his friends to propose his removing to Edinburgh; a scheme mentioned by himself in a letter to Dr Hunter, dated, August, 1751, which we here subjoin:—"I am quite tired of my present life; I have good deal of country practice, which takes up a great deal of my time, and hardly ever allows me an hour's leisure. I got but little money for my labour, and indeed by country practice with our payments a man cannot make money, as he cannot overtake a great deal of business. On this account I have some thoughts of acceding to a proposal that was lately made to me, of removing to Edinburgh. Dr Plummer, professor of chemistry, is a very rich man, has given up practice, and had proposed to give up teaching in favour of Dr Elliot; but this gentleman died about six weeks ago, and upon this event some friends of mine, and along with them, some gentlemen concerned in the administration of the town of Edinburgh, have proposed to use their influence with Dr Plummer to induce him to resign in my favour. As the income of that office cannot be very considerable, and my success in the way of practice is uncertain, I have hesitated about agreeing to their proposal; but provided they can make the establishment such as will afford me a livelihood, the situation and manner of life there will be so much more agreeable than at present, that I resolve to hazard something, and have agreed to accept the invitation when made to me in a proper way. However, Plummer's consent and some other circumstances are still in doubt; and this, with other reasons, requires the affair to be kept as secret as possible."

Lord Kaimes likewise wrote several letters to Dr Cullen, advising him to transfer his residence to Edinburgh, explaining to him, at the same time, various circumstances which promised favourably for his future success. Dr Cullen, in reply to these suggestions, explained the various reasons which induced him to decline at that time removing to Edinburgh, a step which he thought would then be hazardous to himself and family; but shortly after this, in the year 1755, Dr Plummer, the professor in the chair of chemistry, having suffered an attack of palsy, several candidates were put in nomination as his successor, and among these, Dr Home, Dr Black, and Dr Cullen. Dr Black took the earliest opportunity of acquainting Dr Cullen of Dr Plummer's illness, and declared his resolution not to allow any wishes or engagements of his own to interfere with the interests of his friend and preceptor. But Dr Plummer, in the meantime, remaining indisposed, his relations and the other professors of the university, prevailed on Dr Black to teach his class for the ensuing winter. Lord Kaimes in the meantime exerted himself in canvassing on the behalf of Dr Cullen; he wrote to provost Drummond urging his claims—to Dr Whytt, pointing him out as a desirable colleague—to lord Milton, assuring him that he was the fittest person in Europe to fill the chemical chair. At this critical juncture of affairs, the duke of Argyle arrived in Edinburgh, and employed the weight of his whole interest in favour of Dr Cullen. The arrangement which had been made by the friends and relations of Dr Black, for him to lecture during the illness of Dr Plummer, appears not to have given satisfaction to the town council, who, as patrons of the university, have the privilege of regulating its affairs.

At length, after the lapse of some months, Dr Plummer still continuing

unable to lecture, the town council appointed Dr Cullen joint professor of chemistry during the life of his colleague, with the succession in the event of his death; at the same time reserving to Dr Plummer all the rights and privileges of a professor, and particularly that of teaching whenever his state of health would permit of it. Dr Cullen, on receiving this intelligence, addressed a letter to Dr Black, from which, in reply to the generous offer made by Dr Black, we find the following passage:—"While you could expect to be elected a professor, I approved of every step you would take, though in direct opposition to myself; but now that I fancy your hopes of that kind are over, I do not expect opposition; I do expect your favour and concurrence."

Dr Cullen was thus appointed professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh; but the medical professors objected to his election, urging, "that it was made without the consent or demission of Dr Plummer, who, upon this ground, had resolved to protest against Dr Cullen's admission into the university," and they stated, "that the Senatus Academicus would therefore decline receiving Dr Cullen into their body, until he should either obtain Dr Plummer's demission and purchase his laboratory, or until the point at issue should be determined in a court of law, by a declaration of privileges." Notwithstanding this opposition, Dr Cullen entered on his duties as professor of chemistry, by beginning a course of lectures in the university, in the January of 1756. It does not appear that he took any step to obtain a formal admission into the university; but he consulted his friend, the celebrated George Drummond, who was then the provost of Edinburgh, who recommended the adoption of a measure, proposed by Dr Monro, *primus*, by which the difficulty was obviated. This consisted in Dr Cullen's giving up his appointment as sole professor, and being re-elected as the joint professor with Dr Plummer; a commission to which effect was signed on the 10th of March, 1756. Dr Plummer, however, did not survive long; he died in the July following, and then Dr Cullen was elected sole professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh.

The admission of Dr Cullen into that university, constitutes a memorable era in its history. Hitherto, chemistry had been reckoned of little importance, and the chemical class attended only by a very few students; but he soon rendered it a favourite study, and his class became more numerous every session. From the list of names kept by Dr Cullen, it appears that during his first course of lectures the number amounted only to seventeen; during the second course it rose to fifty-nine; and it went on gradually increasing so long as he continued to lecture. The greatest number that attended during any one session, was one hundred and forty-five; and it is curious to observe, says Dr Thomson, that several of those pupils, who afterwards distinguished themselves by their acquirements or writings, had attended three, four, five, or even six, courses of these lectures on chemistry. Dr Cullen's fame rests so much on his exertions in the field of medical science, that few are aware how much the progress of chemical science has been indebted to him. In the *History of Chemistry*, written by the late Dr Thomson, celebrated professor of that science in Glasgow, we find the following just tribute to his memory. "Dr William Cullen, to whom medicine lies under deep obligations, and who afterwards raised the medical celebrity of the college of Edinburgh to so high a pitch, had the merit of first perceiving the importance of scientific chemistry, and the reputation which that man was likely to earn, who should devote himself to the cultivation of it. Hitherto, chemistry in Great Britain, and on the continent also, was considered as a mere appendage to medicine, and useful only so far as it contributed to the formation of new and useful remedies. This was the reason why it came to constitute an essential part of the education of every medical man, and why a physician was considered as

unfit for practice, unless he was also a chemist. But Dr Cullen viewed the science as far more important, as capable of throwing light on the constitution of bodies, and of improving and amending those arts and manufactures that are most useful to man. He resolved to devote himself to its cultivation and improvement; and he would undoubtedly have derived celebrity from this science had not his fate led rather to the cultivation of medicine. But Dr Cullen, as the true commencer of the study of scientific chemistry in Great Britain, claims a conspicuous place in this historical sketch."

Dr Cullen's removal to Edinburgh was attended by a temporary pecuniary inconvenience, for no salary being attached to his chair in the university, his only means of supporting himself and family, were derived from the fees of students, and such practice as he could command; under these circumstances, he appears to have undertaken a translation of Van Swieten's commentaries on Boerhaave, in which he expected the assistance of his former pupils, Dr William Hunter and Dr Black. But we have already seen that his class became more numerously attended every session; besides which his practice also began to increase, so that his prospects having brightened, he relinquished this undertaking. In addition to lecturing on chemistry, he now began to deliver lectures on clinical medicine in the Royal Infirmary. This benevolent institution was opened in the December of 1741, and soon afterwards Dr John Rutherford, who was then professor of the practice of physic, proposed to explain, in clinical lectures, the nature and treatment of the cases admitted; a measure highly approved of by the enlightened policy of the managers, who, besides permitting students on paying a small gratuity to attend the hospital at large, appropriated two of its wards for the reception of the more remarkable cases which were destined, under the selection and management of one or more of the medical professors, to afford materials for this new and valuable mode of tuition. The privilege of delivering a course of clinical lectures was granted by the managers of the Royal Infirmary to Dr Rutherford in the year 1748, and in the following year extended to the other professors of medicine belonging to the university; none of whom, however, seem to have availed themselves of it, excepting Dr Rutherford, until the year 1757, when Dr Cullen undertook to deliver a course of such lectures, and was soon joined in the performance of that duty by Drs White and Rutherford. Dr Cullen soon obtained great reputation as a teacher of clinical medicine. "His lectures," observes Dr Thomson, were distinguished by that simplicity, ingenuity, and comprehensiveness of view which marked at all times the philosophical turn of his mind, and I have been informed by several eminent medical men who had an opportunity of attending them, and more particularly by one who acted as his clinical clerk in 1765, were delivered with that clearness and copiousness of illustration with which in his lectures he ever instructed and delighted his auditors."<sup>4</sup>

In the winter session of 1760, Dr Alston, who was the professor of *materia medica*, died, shortly after commencing his course of lectures for the season. It was well known that Dr Cullen had already devoted considerable attention to this branch of medical science; and that he had lectured upon it in the university of Glasgow; and the students of medicine therefore presented a petition, soliciting him to lecture in the place of Dr Alston. Dr Cullen accordingly commenced a course of lectures on *materia medica* in the beginning of January 1761. Some years afterwards a volume was published entitled "*Lectures on the Materia Medica*, as delivered by William Cullen, M.D., professor of

<sup>4</sup> The History of Chemistry, by Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.R.S.E. Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow. 1830.

<sup>5</sup> Thomson's Life of Cullen, vol. i.

medicine in the university of Edinburgh." In the preface of this work, the editors state "as the following sheets are not alleged to be printed by his (Dr Cullen's) directions, it may seem necessary to lay before the public the reasons that induced the editors to this step, as nothing can be farther from their thoughts than the least intention of injuring either the fame or interest of that gentleman, for whose mind and abilities they have the greatest esteem. This is so far the case, that they would think themselves extremely happy if, on a sight of this work, the learned author could be induced to favour the world with his improved sentiments on this subject, which could not fail of being a most useful as well as an acceptable present to the public. The editors have no other motive for making this work public, than a concern to find a performance, which so far excels in method, copiousness of thought, liberality of sentiment and judgment, all that have been before written on the subject, in danger of being lost to the world." Dr Cullen, however, objecting to the publication of this work, applied to the court of Chancery for an injunction to prohibit its sale, which was immediately granted. The physician who supplied the booksellers with the notes, is on all hands admitted to have been influenced by no pecuniary or unworthy motive; but the professor objected to the work, complaining, "that it was by no means sufficiently perfect to do him honour; that it had been unexpectedly undertaken and necessarily executed in a great hurry;—that it was still more imperfect from the inaccuracy of the gentleman who had taken the notes, &c." When, however, it was represented, that a great many copies were already in circulation, Dr Cullen was persuaded to allow the sale of the remaining copies, on condition "that he should receive a share of the profits, and that the grosser errors in the work should be corrected by the addition of a supplement. Accordingly, on these terms it was published, nor is it doing more than an act of justice to state, that it contains all the information on materia medica which was known at that period, and may yet be consulted with advantage by the student.

In consequence of his increasing infirmities and age, Dr John Rutherford, the professor of the practice of physic, resigned his chair in February, 1766, in favour of Dr John Gregory, who had held for several years the professorship of physic in the college of Aberdeen. When his intention of resigning became known, every effort was made by the friends of Dr Cullen to procure for him this professorship, the duties of which he had, by his clinical labours in the Infirmary, proved himself eminently qualified to discharge. The exertions of Dr Cullen's friends, however, proved unavailing, and Dr Gregory was duly appointed as the successor to Dr Rutherford. In the April of the same year the chair of the theory of physic was vacated by the death of Dr Whytt; but we are informed that Dr Cullen was so much disgusted with the conduct of the patrons of the university, and with the treatment he had received in relation to the chair of the practice of physic, that he rather wished to retain the chair of chemistry, than to be translated to that of the theory of medicine. His friends, however, earnestly urged him to take the chair vacated by the death of Dr Whytt; and on this occasion he received the most flattering and gratifying testimony of the esteem entertained towards him, both by his fellow professors and the students of the university. The professors came forward with a public address to him, wherein, after expressing their conviction that he was the most competent person to teach the theory of medicine, they added, that they "thought it a duty they owed the town, the university, and the students of physic, and themselves, to request of him, in the most public and earnest manner, to resign the professorship of chemistry, and to offer himself to the honourable patrons of the university as a candidate for the profession of the theory of physic." The students also

came forward, and presented an address to the lord provost, magistrates, and town council, wherein they boldly stated, "we are humbly of opinion that the reputation of the university and magistrates, the good of the city, and our improvement will all, in an eminent manner, be consulted by engaging Dr Gregory to relinquish the professorship of the practice for that of the theory of medicine, by appointing Dr Cullen, present professor of chemistry, to the practical chair, and by electing Dr Black professor of chemistry."

At length Dr Cullen consented to become a candidate for the chair of Dr Whytt, and was elected professor of the institutes or theory of medicine, on the 1st of November, 1766; and, on the same day, his friend and former pupil Dr Black was elected in his place professor of chemistry. The proposal in the address of the students respecting Dr Cullen's lecturing on the practice of medicine, being, both by the professors and succeeding students, urged on the consideration of the patrons of the university, it was agreed that Dr Cullen should be permitted to lecture on that subject, and accordingly, with Dr Gregory's permission, Dr Cullen delivered a course of lectures in the summer of 1768, and during the remainder of Dr Gregory's life, Drs Cullen and Gregory continued to give alternate courses on the theory and practice of physic. The death of Dr Gregory, however, took place on the 10th of February, 1773, and Dr Cullen was immediately appointed sole professor of the practice of physic.

While Dr Cullen held the professorship of the institutes of medicine, he published heads of lectures for the use of students in the university; which were translated into French, German, and Italian; but he went no further than physiology. After succeeding to the chair of the practice of physic, he published his Nosology, entitled "*Synopsis Nosologiae Methodicae*." It appeared in two 8vo volumes, which were afterwards in 1780 much improved. In this valuable work he inserted in the first volume abstracts of the nosological systems of Sauvages, Linnaeus, Vogel, and Sagar;—and in the second his own method of arrangement. His classification and definitions of disease have done much to systematise and facilitate the acquirement of medical knowledge;—not but that, in some instances, he may have placed a disease under an improper head; and in others given definitions that are very imperfect, for these are defects, which, considering the wide field he had to explore, might reasonably have been expected. Although it may be only an approximation to a perfect system, it is desirable to classify, as far as we are able, the facts which constitute the ground-work of every science; otherwise they must be scattered over a wide surface, or huddled together in a confused heap—the *rudis indigestaque moles* of the ancient poet. The definitions contained in this Nosology are not mere scholastic and unnecessary appendages to medical science;—so far from this, they express the leading and characteristic signs or features of certain diseases, and although it is true that a medical practitioner, without recollecting the definitions of Dr Cullen, may recognize the very same symptoms he has described, and refer them to their proper disease, still this does not prove that the definitions of Cullen are the less useful to those who have not seen so much practice, and who, even if they had, might pass over without observing many symptoms to which, by those definitions, their attention is called. The professors and teachers of every science know the necessity of inducing their pupils to arrange and concentrate their thoughts on every subject, in a clear and distinct manner; and in effecting this, the study of the Nosology of Dr Cullen has been found so useful, that it is still constantly used by the students of the university, who find that, even although their professors do not at present require them to repeat the definitions of disease, given by Dr Cullen, verbatim, still they cannot express themselves, nor find, in any other nosological work, the method or man-

ner of describing the characteristic symptoms of disease, so concisely and correctly given as in his Nosology. Accordingly, notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, and notwithstanding the Nosology of Dr Cullen was published three quarters of a century ago, it is still the text-book of the most distinguished medical schools in Europe, and some years ago an improved edition of it was edited by the learned translator of Magendie, Dr Milligan.

When Dr Cullen succeeded to the chair of the practice of physic, we have stated, that the doctrines of Boerhaave were in full dominion; but these Dr Cullen felt himself justified in relinquishing, although his doing so made him appear guilty of little less than heresy in the eyes of his professional contemporaries. "When I studied physic," says he, "in this university, about forty years ago, I learned the system of Boerhaave, and except it may be the names of some ancient writers, of Sydenham and a few other practical authors, I heard of no other names or writers on physic; and I was taught to think the system of Boerhaave was very complete and sufficient. But when I retired from the university, being very much addicted to study, I soon met with other books that engaged my attention, particularly with Baglivi's *Specimen De Fibra motrice et Nervosa*, and at length with the works of Hoffman. Both of these opened my views with respect to the animal economy, and made me perceive something was wanting and required to be added to the system of Boerhaave. I prosecuted the inquiry; and, according to the opportunities I had in practice and reading, I cultivated the new ideas I had got, and formed to myself a system in many respects different to that of my masters. About twenty years after I had left the university, I was again called to it to take a professor's chair there. I still found the system of Boerhaave prevailing as much as ever, and even without any notice being taken of what Boerhaave himself, and his commentator Van Swieten, had added to his system. Soon after I came here I was engaged to give clinical, that is practical lectures, and in these I ventured to give my own opinion of the nature and cure of diseases, different in several respects from that of the Boerhaavians. This soon produced an outcry against me. In a public college, as I happened to be a professor of chemistry, I was called a Paracelsus, a Van Helmont, a whimsical innovator, and great pains were taken in private to disparage myself and my doctrines. This went so far, that my friend and patron, the late George Drummond, whose venerable bust you see in the hall of the Infirmary, came to me, requesting seriously that I would avoid differing from Dr Boerhaave, as he found my conduct in that respect was likely to hurt myself and the university; I promised to be cautious, and on every occasion spoke very respectfully of Dr Boerhaave. I have continued always to hold the same language as I expressed in my last lecture, and I shall do it most sincerely, as I truly esteem Dr Boerhaave as a philosopher, a physician, and the author of a system more perfect than any thing that had gone before, and as perfect as the state of science in his time would admit of. But with all this I became more and more confirmed in my own ideas; and especially from hence that I found my pupils adopt them very readily. I was, however, no violent reformer, and by degrees only I ventured to point out the imperfections and even the errors of Dr Boerhaave's system; and I have now done the same in the preface which I have given to the new edition of the *First Lines*."

The first edition of Dr Cullen's *Practice of Physic* was published in 1775;—it spread rapidly through Europe, and is said to have produced the author about three thousand pounds sterling—a very considerable sum in those days. Pinel and Bosquillon published several translations of it in Paris; and it also appeared translated into German, Italian and Latin. A valuable edition of it has recently appeared, edited by the late Dr William Cullen (a relation of the author)



and Dr J. C. Gregory, who have added, in an appendix, such illustrations as explain the progress of medical science since it was originally published. We need hardly add that the most valuable edition of it, as a work of Dr Cullen's, is that edited by Dr Thomson, who having access to Dr Cullen's manuscript notes, submitted to the profession an improved edition of this work in the year 1827. The system of medicine explained and advocated by Dr Cullen in his lectures and in his work "The First Lines of the Practice of Physic" is raised on the foundation which had previously been laid by Hoffman, who pointed out, more clearly than any of his predecessors, the extensive and powerful influence of the nervous system, in producing and modifying the diseases to which the human body is liable. Although the study of pathology does not appear to have been so zealously pursued at that period as it is at present, yet Dr Cullen, in his course of clinical instruction, always dwelt on the importance of inspecting the bodies of those who died under his treatment, and connecting the *post mortem* morbid appearances with the symptoms that had been exhibited during life. In addressing a letter to Dr Balfour Russel, the author of the best work on the Plague published in this country,—he observes, "you will not find it impossible to separate practice from theory altogether; and therefore if you have a mind to begin with the theory, I have no objection. I think a systematic study of the pathology and *methodus medendi* will be necessary previous to the practice, and you may always have in view a system of the whole of physic." But notwithstanding this, it must be admitted that Dr Cullen was too fond of theorising, and like all other philosophers who are anxious to frame a particular system, he often commenced establishing his superstructure before having accumulated a sufficient number of facts to give it a secure foundation. Hence the works of Bonetus, Morgagni, and Lieutaud contain more pathological knowledge than those published at a later date by Dr Cullen.

Dr Cullen, in discharging his duties as a professor, both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, took very great pains in the instruction of his students; perhaps he is entitled to the credit of having taken a deeper and more sincere interest in their progress than any professor with whose history we are acquainted. Dr James Anderson, who was his pupil and friend, bears the most unequivocal testimony to his zeal as a public teacher. For more than thirty years, says he, that the writer of this article has been honoured with his acquaintance, he has had access to know, that Dr Cullen was in general employed from five to six hours every day, in visiting his patients, and prescribing for those at a distance who consulted him in writing; and that, during the session of the college, which, in Edinburgh, lasts from five to six months, he delivered two public lectures of an hour each, sometimes four lectures a day, during five days of the week; and towards the end of the session, that his students might lose no part of his course, he usually, for a month or six weeks together, delivered lectures six days every week; yet, during all that time, if you chanced to fall in with him in public or in private, you never perceived him either embarrassed or seemingly in a hurry; but at all times he was easy and cheerful and sociably inclined; and in a private party of whist, for sixpence a game, he could be as keenly engaged for an hour before supper, as if he had no other employment to mind, and would be as much interested in it, as if he had a thousand pounds depending on the game.<sup>6</sup> The professors of universities are too generally apt to hold their offices like sinecures, going lazily through the business of their duties, by reading five times a week, in an indifferent tone, a lecture of an hour's length, after which, retiring within the magic circle of their dignity, they are too often above condescending

<sup>6</sup> The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 8.

to come into any sort of personal contact with their pupils. It is particularly one of the evils of the Edinburgh university, that scarcely ever does any tie exist between the pupil and the professor; they seldom come necessarily into personal communication, and consequently the greater is the credit due to those professors who cultivate the acquaintance of their students, and take as much interest in their studies without as within the walls of the university. Dr James Anderson, who had every opportunity of judging correctly, informs us, that "the general conduct of Dr Cullen to his students was this;—with all such as he observed to be attentive and diligent he formed an early acquaintance, by inviting them by twos, by threes, or by fours, at a time, to sup with him; conversing with them on these occasions with the most engaging ease, and freely entering with them on the subject of their studies, their amusements, their difficulties, their hopes, and future prospects. In this way he usually invited the whole of his numerous class, till he made himself acquainted with their abilities, their private characters, and their objects of pursuit. Those among them whom he found most assiduous, best disposed, or the most friendless, he invited most frequently, until an intimacy was gradually formed which proved highly beneficial to them. Their doubts with regard to their objects of study, he listened to with attention, and solved with the most obliging condescension. His library, which consisted of an excellent assortment of the best books, especially on medical subjects, was at all times open for their accommodation, and his advice in every case of difficulty to them, they always had it in their power most readily to obtain. From his general acquaintance among the students, and the friendly habits he was on with many of them, he found no difficulty in discovering those among them who were rather in hampered circumstances, without being obliged to hurt their delicacy in any degree. He often found out some polite excuse for refusing to take payment for a first course, and never was at a loss for one to an after course. Before they could have an opportunity of applying for a ticket, he would lead the conversation to some subject that occurred in the course of his lectures, and as his lectures were never put in writing by himself, he would sometimes beg the favour to see their notes, if he knew they had been taken with attention, under a pretext of assisting his memory. Sometimes he would express a wish to have their opinion on a particular part of his course, and presented them with a ticket for that purpose, and sometimes he refused to take payment, under the pretext that they had not received his full course; in the preceding year, some part of it having been necessarily omitted for want of time, which he meant to include in this course. These were the particular devices he adopted with individuals to whom economy was necessary, and it was a general rule with him never to take money from any student for more than two courses of the same set of lectures, permitting him to attend these lectures for as many years longer as he pleased, gratis. He introduced another generous principle into the university, which ought not to be passed over in silence. Before he came to Edinburgh, it was the custom for medical professors to accept of fees for medical assistance when wanted, even from medical students themselves, who were perhaps attending the professor's own lectures at the time; but Dr Cullen would never take fees as a physician from any student at the university; although he attended them when called in, with the same assiduity and care as if they had been persons of the first rank, who paid him most liberally. This gradually induced others to adopt a similar practice; so that it has now become a general rule at this university for medical professors to decline taking any fees when their assistance is necessary for a student."<sup>1</sup>

Dr Aiken, who was also a pupil of Dr Cullen, bears similar testimony to the

<sup>1</sup> The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 48, 49.

generous conduct manifested by him to his students. "He was cordially attentive," says he, "to their interests; admitted them freely to his house; conversed with them on the most familiar terms; solved their doubts and difficulties; gave them the use of his library; and, in every respect, treated them with the respect of a friend, and the regard of a parent."<sup>2</sup> Nor was the kind interest which Dr Cullen took in the pursuits of young persons confined to his students alone. Mr Dugald Stewart informed Dr Thomson, that during a slight indisposition which confined him for some time to his room, when a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age, he was attended by Dr Cullen. In recommending to his patient a little relaxation from his studies, and suggesting some light reading, the Doctor inquired whether he had ever read the history of Don Quixote. On being answered in the negative, he turned quickly round to Mr Stewart's father, and desired that the book should be immediately procured. In his subsequent visits to his patient, Dr Cullen never failed to examine him on the progress he had made in reading the humorous story of the great pattern of chivalry, and to talk over with him every successive incident, scene, and character, in that history. In mentioning these particulars, Mr Stewart remarked, that he never could look back on that intercourse, without feeling surprise at the minute accuracy with which Dr Cullen remembered every passage in the life of Don Quixote, and the lively manner in which he sympathized with him in the pleasure he derived from the first perusal of that entertaining romance. In what degree of estimation Mr Stewart continued to hold that work, may be seen by the inimitable character which he has given of it, in his dissertation on the progress of metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy.<sup>3</sup>

Dr Cullen, after having been elected professor of the practice of medicine, devoted his time entirely to his duties as a public lecturer, and to his profession; for his fame having extended, his private practice became very considerable. Already we have observed that he had a large family; and about this time, having become acquainted with the celebrated John Brown, a sketch of whose life we have already given in this Biographical Dictionary, he engaged him to live in his family as the preceptor of his children, and also as an assistant at his lectures, the substance of which Brown repeated and expounded in the evening to his students; for which purpose the manuscript notes of the morning lectures were generally intrusted to him. It is well known that the habits of John Brown were extremely irregular. His son, who has written a short memoir of him, observes, "Unfortunately, among his qualifications, economy held no place. At the commencement of his medical studies, he very naturally turned his attention to cultivate the acquaintance of those individuals among whom he proposed earning a livelihood. It was not among the serious, the wise, or the aged, that he was likely to procure pupils; his companions therefore would necessarily be the young, the thoughtless, and, very frequently, the dissipated. The pleasures of the table, and the unconstrained hilarity he enjoyed at the convivial meetings of such companions, were, by nature, sufficiently agreeable to one of his vivacity of disposition and strong passion; but the distinguished figure he made on such occasions, as a man of brilliant wit, and the deference paid to his superior talents, must have rendered these meetings still more gratifying to him. It is not surprising, then, that after having been habituated to such association for a succession of years, he acquired a taste for company and high living, which was confirmed as he advanced in life, exposed to the same necessity of cultivating the acquaintance and rendering himself agreeable to those on whom his liveli-

<sup>2</sup> General Biography, vol. iii. p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson's Life of Dr Cullen, vol. i. p. 136.

hood depended."<sup>4</sup> After having been his most favourite pupil, John Brown became the most intimate of Dr Cullen's friends; but, three or four years afterwards, a quarrel took place between them, after which they ever regarded each other with feelings of the most determined hostility. By the friends of John Brown it is alleged, that Dr Cullen behaved towards him in a deceitful manner, for that he held out promises to interest himself in assisting him to obtain a professor's chair in the university; instead of which, when the opportunity presented itself, knowing that John Brown had adopted a theory of medicine different from his own, he tacitly opposed his election; and when the magistrates, or patrons of the university, asked him who John Brown was, so far from giving him his support, he, after some pretended hesitation, blasted his success, by observing, with a sarcastic smile, "Surely this can never be *our Jock*." Besides which, it is also affirmed, that when John Brown applied for admission into the society which published the Edinburgh essays, Dr Cullen, who had great influence there, contrived to get a majority to reject his petition. In reply to all this,—“and without attempting to vindicate either party, it must appear obvious, that John Brown's rejection by the patrons of the university as a professor must have been the necessary consequence of the dissipated character which he possessed; and it is more than probable that Dr Cullen himself, having sons now advancing in life, saw the necessity of discountenancing their intimacy with one whose habits of intemperance were likely to lead them into dissipation.” John Brown soon became the founder and champion of a system of medicine opposed to that of Dr Cullen; and the palestra where the opponents and advocates of both theories met, and where their disputations were carried on with the greatest vigour, was the hall of the medical society. The doctrines of Cullen had there, some years previously, triumphed over those of Boerhaave; but they in their turn were now destined to receive a shock from the zealous advocates of the new theory, which was warmly espoused by many, both at home and abroad.

Dr Cullen continued to deliver his lectures until within a few months of his death, when, feeling himself subdued by the infirmities of age, he was induced to resign his professorship; “but, for some years before his death,” observes Dr James Anderson, “his friends perceived a sensible decline of that ardour and energy of mind which characterized him at a former period. Strangers, who had never seen him before, could not be sensible of this change; nor did any marked decline in him strike them, for his natural vivacity still was such as might pass in general as the unabated vigour of one in the prime of life.” He resigned his professorship in the end of December, 1789. In the medical commentaries published at that period, his death is thus announced: “About the end of December, 1789, Dr William Cullen, after having taught medicine at Edinburgh for many years, with a degree of reputation which not only did honour to himself, but also to the university of which he was a member, being now arrived at his seventy-seventh (ninth) year, and finding himself unable, from age and infirmities, any longer to discharge the duties of his office, sent a letter to the patrons of the university of Edinburgh, resigning into their hands his professorship of the practice of physic.”<sup>5</sup>

Dr Cullen, on the occasion of his resignation, received many honourable testimonies of regard from the different public societies in Edinburgh.

The lord provost, magistrates, and town council presented him with an elegant piece of silver plate, with a suitable inscription, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the university and to the community.

<sup>4</sup> Life of Dr John Brown,—prefixed to his works by William Cullen Brown, M.D. III.

<sup>5</sup> Medical Commentaries, vol. v. 491.

The *senatus academicus* of the university, the medical society, the physical society, and many other scientific and literary societies, voted addresses to him, expressive of the high sense entertained of his abilities and services.

The physical society of America also forwarded to him a similar address, and concluded by expressing the same wish which had been likewise embodied in the other addresses. It thus concludes—"And, finally, we express our most cordial wishes that the evening of your days may be crowned with as great an exemption from pain and languor as an advanced state of life admits of, and with all the tranquillity of mind which a consciousness of diffusive benevolence to men and active worth inspires."

The several deputations from these public bodies were received by his son Henry, who replied to them by acknowledging the satisfaction which they gave to his father, and the regret he felt, that, in consequence of his ill state of health, he was unable to meet them, and express his sentiments in person to them.<sup>6</sup>

Dr Cullen did not long survive his resignation of the professorship; he lingered a few weeks; and died on the 5th of February, 1790, in the eightieth year of his age. His funeral was a private one, and took place on the following Wednesday the 10th of February; when his remains, attended by a select number of friends, were interred in his burial-place in the church-yard of Kirk Newton, near his house of Ormiston Hill, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

Of the character of Dr Cullen, in the more retired circle of private life, we know little; few anecdotes having been preserved illustrative of the peculiarities of his habits, disposition, or domestic manners. We have been informed, by one who remembers him well, that he had no sense of the value of money. He used to put large sums into an open drawer, to which he and his wife went whenever either of them wanted money. He and his wife lived happily, and many who recollect them, have borne testimony to the delightful evenings they always spent whenever they visited them. Dr Cullen's external appearance, says his friend Dr Anderson, though striking and not displeasing, was not elegant. His countenance was expressive, and his eye, in particular, remarkably lively, and, at times, wonderfully expressive. In his person he was tall and thin, stooping very much about the shoulders. When he walked, he had a contemplative look, and did not seem much to regard the objects around him.<sup>7</sup>

After Dr Cullen's death, his son, the late lord Cullen, entertained the intention of writing his life, which, however, he did not accomplish. Soon after his lordship died, Dr Cullen's papers, consisting of letters from private friends, sketches of essays, notes of lectures, and medical consultations, were placed by his surviving family in the hands of Dr Thomson, with a request that he would endeavour to draw up, from these documents, and from the information he could procure from other sources, such an account of his life, lectures, and writings, as might in some degree satisfy the curiosity of the public. We need only state, that Dr Thomson executed their wishes in a most able manner; his life of Dr Cullen supplying us with all the information concerning his public career that can possibly be desired. It remains only for us to add, that the doctrines promulgated by Dr Cullen, which have had so great an influence on medical science, are now keenly contested; but whether, in after years, they stand or fall, all parties must unite in paying a just tribute of admiration to the genius and acquirements of a man who was certainly an ornament to the age in which he lived.

<sup>6</sup> Evening Courant, January and February, 1790.

<sup>7</sup> The Bee or Literary Intelligencer, vol. i. 166.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER, fifth earl of Glencairn, was the son and successor of William the fourth earl, and the seventeenth in descent from the founder of his family, Warnebalde de Cunningham, a Norman settler under Hugh de Moreville, constable of Scotland, who died in 1162.

There is hardly any patriotic name in Scottish history entitled to more of the credit of a firm and zealous pursuit of liberty, than Alexander earl of Glencairn. His father, having been one of the Scottish nobles taken prisoner at Solway Moss, was gained over in England to the interest of the Reformation, which he undertook to advance in his own country. The subject of this memoir was therefore introduced, at an early period, into the political convulsions which took place, on account of religion and the English alliance, during the minority of queen Mary. He succeeded his father in 1547, and, on the return of John Knox in 1554, was one of those who openly resorted to hear him preach. The reformer was afterwards received by the earl at his house of Finlayston, where the sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed, according to the forms of the church of Geneva, to his lordship, his tenantry, and friends. When Knox was summoned to appear before a Romish tribunal, on a charge of preaching heretical doctrine, he was recommended, by the earl and others, to write a letter of remonstrance to the queen regent, which Glencairn was so bold as to deliver into her own hands. It was of this letter that the queen said, in handing it afterwards to archbishop Beaton, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil." The earl of Glencairn was one of those eminent persons who, in 1557, associated themselves in a covenant, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of the reformed religion in Scotland. This body has received in history the well-known title of "Lords of the Congregation." In all the subsequent struggles with existing authority, Glencairn took an active and prominent part. Being deputed, in 1558, along with his relative, Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, to remonstrate with the queen against her intended prosecution of the preachers, she answered, that "in spite of all they could do, these men should be banished, although they preached as soundly as ever did St Paul." The earl and Sir Hugh then reminded her of a former promise to a different effect; to which she answered, that "the promises of princes were no further to be urged upon them for performance than it stood to their conveniency." The two deputies then informed her, that "if these were her sentiments, they would no longer be her subjects;" which staggered her so much, that she said she would advise. In May, 1559, when the reformers drawn together at Perth found it necessary to protect themselves by force of arms from the designs of this princess, letters were sent into Ayrshire, as into other parts of Scotland, desiring all the faithful to march to that town, in order to defend the good cause. The reformers of Ayrshire met at the kirk of Craigie, where, on some objections being started, the earl of Glencairn, "in zeal burst forth in these words, 'Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St Johnston: yea, albeit never a man shall accompany me; I will go, if it were but with a pick [mattock] over my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company than live after them.'" Accordingly, although the queen regent planted guards on all the rivers in Stirlingshire to prevent his approach, he came to Perth in an incredibly short space of time, with twelve hundred horse and thirteen hundred foot, having marched night and day in order to arrive in time. The appearance of so determined a leader, with so large a force, subdued the regent to terms, and might be said to have saved the cause from utter destruction. Besides serving the reformers with his sword and feudal influence, he wielded the pen in the same cause. Knox has preserved, in his History of the Reformation, a clever pasquinade by the earl upon a shameless adherent of the old

religion—the hermit of Loretto, near Musselburgh. After he had seen the triumph of the protestant faith in 1559-60, he was nominated a member of queen Mary's privy council. Zeal for the same religion afterwards induced him to join in the insurrection raised against the queen's authority by the earl of Murray. After her marriage to Bothwell, he was one of the most active of the associated lords by whom she was dethroned. At Carberry, where he had an important command, when the French ambassador came from the queen, promising them forgiveness if they would disperse, he answered, with his characteristic spirit, that "they came not to ask pardon for any offence they had done, but to grant pardon to those who had offended." After the queen had been consigned to Lochleven, he entered her chapel at Holyrood House with his domestics, and destroyed the whole of the images and other furniture. This he did from the impulse of his own mind, and without consulting any of his friends. In the whole of the subsequent proceedings for establishing the protestant cause under a regency, he took a zealous part. His lordship died in 1574, and was succeeded by his son William, the sixth earl.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER, the historian, was born in the year 1654, in the county of Selkirk, and parish of Etrick, of which his father was minister. Having acquired the elementary branches of learning at home, he, according to the prevailing custom among Scottish gentlemen, of that period, proceeded to Holland to finish his education, and it is believed that it was there that he made those friends, among the English refugees at the Hague, who afterwards contributed so powerfully to the advancement of his fortunes. He came over to England with the prince of Orange in 1688, and was honoured with the intimacy of the leading men by whom the revolution was accomplished, more especially with that of the earls of Sunderland and Argyle. After his return to Britain he was employed as tutor and travelling companion to the earl of Hyndford, and also to that nobleman's brother, the honourable Mr William Carmichael, who was solicitor-general of Scotland in the reign of queen Anne. Mr Cunningham was afterwards travelling companion to lord Lorne, better known under the title of John the great duke of Argyle.

While Mr Cunningham was travelling on the continent with lord Lorne, he was employed by the administration in transmitting secret intelligence on the most important subjects, and he was also intrusted by the confederate generals of the allied army to make representations to the British court. When in Holland in 1703, along with lord Lorne, he met the celebrated Addison, and was received in the most gracious manner by the elector and the princess Sophia. It is supposed that it is to the knowledge of military affairs, acquired through his intimacy with lord Lorne, that the description of battles, and the other operations of war contained in Mr Cunningham's history, owe that lucid distinctness for which they are so remarkable. During the year 1710, he travelled on the continent with lord Lonsdale.

Through the interest and friendship of Argyle and Sunderland, and of Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Cunningham, on the accession of George I, was sent as British envoy to the republic of Venice, where he remained from the year 1715 to 1720. His despatches from Venice have been collected and arranged by Mr Astle. For many years after Mr Cunningham's return from Italy, he passed his life in studious retirement in London. In 1735, he was visited by lord Hyndford, to whose father he had been tutor, who found him a very infirm old man, sitting in a great arm chair, habited in a night-gown. He is believed to have lived until the year 1737, and to have been buried in the vicars' chancel of St Martin's church, where an Alexander Cunningham lies interred, who died on the 15th May, 1737, in the 83d year of his age, which

corresponds with the date of Mr Cunningham's birth. He seems to have died rich, as, by his will, he directs his landlord not to expend more than eighty pounds on his funeral. He left the bulk of his fortune to his nephew, Archibald Cunningham of Greenock, reserving eight thousand pounds in trust for his nieces, and four thousand pounds to Cunningham of Craighend.

Mr Cunningham's history of Britain, which was originally written in Latin, but afterwards translated into English by Dr William Thomson, is the performance on which his claim to be remembered by posterity chiefly rests. It was first published in 1787, many years after his death, in two vols. 4to. This work embraces the history of Britain from the Revolution of 1688 to the accession of George I.; and being written by a man who was not only well versed but deeply concerned in many of the political events of the period, and who was intimately acquainted with most of the leading men of the age, it is a production of great historical importance. His characters are drawn with much judgment and discrimination and generally with impartiality, although his prejudices against bishop Burnet and general Stanhope led him to do injustice to these two great men. He also indulged himself in severe sarcasms against the clergy and the female sex, a weakness for which it is difficult to find any excuse. His work abounds in just observations on the political events of the times, and his facts are related with much perspicuity, and occasionally with great animation, more especially where he treats of the operations of war.

"A coincidence of name has led to the confounding of this historian with Alexander Cunningham, the celebrated editor and emendator of Horace, and the antagonist of Bentley; but the evidence produced by Dr Thomson in a very elaborate preface to Cunningham's history, leads to a strong presumption that they were different persons: and a late writer, under the signature of Crito, in the Scots Magazine for October, 1804, seems to have put this fact beyond question; the editor of Horace having died at the Hague in 1730, and the historian at London in 1737." *Tytler's Life of Kaimes*, vol. 1. Appen. No. 1.

CURRIE, JAMES, M.D. an eminent physician of Liverpool, was born, May 31, 1756, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Dumfriesshire. His father was the minister of that parish, but obtained, soon after the birth of his son, the living of Middlebie. His mother was Jane Boyd, a woman of superior understanding, but who unfortunately died of consumption shortly after their removal to Middlebie. Young Currie was the only son in a family of seven children. Having been at an early age deprived of his mother, his aunt, Miss Duncan, kindly undertook the management of the family. To the anxious care which Miss Duncan took of his early education, Currie owed many of those virtues which adorned his after life. He commenced his education at the parochial school of Middlebie, and at the age of thirteen was removed to Dumfries, and placed in the seminary of the learned Dr Chapman, where he remained for upwards of two years. He was originally intended for the profession of medicine, but having accompanied his father in a visit to Glasgow, he was so much delighted with the bustle and commercial activity displayed in that city, that he obtained his father's consent to betake himself to a mercantile life; and accordingly he entered the service of a company of American merchants. This, as frequently happens, where the wishes of an inexperienced young man are too readily yielded to, proved a very unfortunate change. He sailed for Virginia just at the commencement of those disputes with the American colonies which terminated in their independence, and the commercial embarrassment and losses which were occasioned by the consequent interruption of trade have been offered as an apology for the harsh and ungenerous manner in which Currie was treated by his employers. To add to his distress, he fell sick of a dangerous



illness, and before he was completely restored to health, he had the misfortune to lose his father, who left his family in very narrow circumstances. Young Currie, with that generosity and sanguine disregard of the difficulties of his situation, which formed so remarkable a feature in his character, immediately on learning of the death of his father, and of the scanty provision made for his sisters, divided among them the small portion which fell to his share. And, disgusted with the hardships he had encountered in the commencement of his mercantile education, he determined to renounce the pursuits of commerce. For a time he seems to have turned his attention to politics; writing several papers on the then all-engrossing subject of the quarrel between Great Britain and America. At length, however, he saw the necessity of making choice of some profession; and, led by the advice of his near relation Dr Currie of Richmond, New Carolina, with whom he was then living, he determined to resume his original intention of studying medicine. In pursuance of this plan, he proceeded to Britain, returning home by the West Indies; being prevented by the war from taking a more direct route. After encountering many difficulties, he reached London in 1776, having been absent from his native country for five years. From London he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies with unremitting assiduity until the year 1780. He early became conspicuous among his fellow-students by his talents. As a member of the medical society he greatly distinguished himself, and the papers which he read before that body, not only give evidence of his superior abilities, but afford an interesting proof that, even at that early period, he had given his attention to those subjects in his profession which he afterwards so fully and ably illustrated. Although the rapid progress he was making in his studies, and the high station he held among his contemporaries, rendered a continuance at college very desirable, still he was too deeply impressed with the necessity of attaining independence and of freeing his sisters and aunt of the burden of his support, not to make every exertion to push himself into employment. Accordingly, having procured an introduction to general Sir William Erskine, he obtained from that officer an ensigncy in his regiment, with the situation of surgeon's mate attached to it. He does not appear, however, to have availed himself of these appointments; for learning that a medical staff was about to be formed in Jamaica, he hurried to Glasgow, where he obtained a degree as a physician; his attendance at college having been insufficient to enable him to graduate at the university of Edinburgh. Having got his degree, and having furnished himself with numerous introductions, he proceeded to London, in the hope of obtaining an appointment in the West India establishment. But, on reaching the capital, he found that all the appointments were already filled up. Although disappointed in obtaining an official situation, he still determined to sail to Jamaica, with the intention of establishing himself there in private practice; or, failing that, to proceed to Richmond, and join his kinsman Dr Currie. He was induced, however, by the persuasion of his friends in London, to abandon this plan, even after his passage to Jamaica had been taken out. They strongly urged him to establish himself in one of the large provincial towns of England; for, from the high estimate which they had formed of his abilities and professional acquirements, they were convinced that he would speedily raise himself to eminence in his profession. In accordance with this view, he proceeded to Liverpool in October, 1780. He was induced to select that town in consequence of a vacancy having occurred there by the removal of Dr Dobson to Bath. But, even without such an opening, it is evident, that to a young physician of talent and enterprise, a wealthy and rapidly increasing commercial town like Liverpool holds out peculiar advantages, and great facilities

for getting into practice, where the continual fluctuation of society presents an open field for professional abilities, widely different from that of more stationary communities. Hence, as had been anticipated, Dr Currie's talents and gentlemanly manners brought him rapidly into practice; although on his first arrival he was an utter stranger in Liverpool, and only found access to society there, by the introductions he brought with him. His success was early confirmed by being elected one of the physicians to the Infirmary, and strengthened by his marriage in the year 1783, to Miss Lucy Wallace, the daughter of a respectable merchant of Liverpool.

Although busily engaged in the arduous duties of his profession, Dr Currie yet found time to cultivate literature. A similarity of tastes having led to an intimacy with the well known Mr Roscoe, Dr Currie and Mr Roscoe, along with Mr William Rathbone, formed a Literary Club, which deserves to be remembered as being the first of those numerous literary institutions by which Liverpool is now so creditably distinguished.

The pulmonary affection under which Dr Currie began to suffer about this time, has been ascribed to the fatigue and the night journeys to which he was exposed in his attendance on the sick bed of his friend, Dr Bell of Manchester. His first attack was so violent as completely to incapacitate him for business; and finding no mitigation of the paroxysms of the hectic fever, except in travelling, he undertook a journey to Bristol; but unfortunately the good effects which the change might otherwise have produced, were neutralized by the distressing circumstance of his arriving just in time to witness the death of his sister; the second who had, within the year, fallen a victim to the same disease under which he was himself labouring. Deriving no benefit from his residence in Bristol, he removed to Matlock, in the hope that the drier air and the hot baths of that inland town, would prove more beneficial. Disappointed in this expectation, he resolved to try the effect of his native air; and in the hope of again seeing a third sister who was sinking under the disease so fatal to his family, he made a hurried journey to Scotland. As regarded his health, his expectations were wonderfully gratified; for when he reached Dumfriesshire he was so much recruited, that he was able to ride on horseback for an hour at a time; but he was too late to see his sister, who was conveyed to the grave on the very day of his arrival. Notwithstanding this distressing event, his native air and exercise on horseback, proved so beneficial, that, after remaining a few weeks at Moffat, he returned to Liverpool on horseback, varying his journey by visiting the lakes of Cumberland. In this journey he was able to ride forty miles on the day on which he reached Liverpool. A very interesting account of Dr Currie's illness and recovery will be found in the second volume of Darwin's *Zoonomia*.

The first work which, after his recovery, Dr Currie undertook, was a translation of his friend Dr Bell's inaugural dissertation. This he did at the request of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, and it was published in the Society's transactions. The translation was accompanied by several valuable notes, and a short biographical sketch of the author; in which Dr Currie appears to have given a very correct and impartial delineation of his friend's character. The elegance of the style and execution of this work gained for Dr Currie very considerable reputation as an author.

On being elected member of the Medical Society of London, he communicated an essay, (published in the Society's transactions,) on "Tetanus and Convulsive Disorders." In the year following, he presented to the Royal Society, a paper giving "An account of the remarkable effect of shipwreck on mariners, with experiments and observations on the influence of immersion in fresh and salt

water, hot and cold, on the powers of the body," which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of that year, and which may be regarded as introductory to a more mature production, which appeared in 1792, under the title of "Medical reports on the effects of water, cold and warm, as a remedy for fever and other diseases, whether applied to the surface of the body or used internally;" a work on which Dr Currie's fame as a medical author principally rests. Immediately on its publication, it attracted the attention, not only of the profession, but of the public in general. But the practice which it recommended not having been found uniformly successful, and being repugnant to the preconceived notions on the subject, it fell gradually into disrepute. Still, however, cold ablutions in fever is unquestionably a remedy of great power, and has been found very salutary when used with judgment, particularly in the violent fevers of tropical climates. That the practice has hitherto been less successful than it should be, arises from its having been often resorted to by the patients themselves, and from its being prescribed by the ignorant, too late in the hot stage of the fever. The profession, therefore, is deeply indebted to Dr Currie for the introduction of this practice; which, in skilful hands, has proved most efficacious, and has been the means of saving many lives.

Dr Currie, on several occasions, indulged himself in writing on political topics; but by some remarkable fatality, although by no means a consistent adherent to one side, he invariably took the unpopular side of the question. While in America, he had defended the mother country against the colonies. He afterwards joined in the *no popery* enthusiasm, during the disgraceful riots raised by lord George Gordon, bringing himself into disrepute by the ill chosen time he took to indulge in a cry which was otherwise popular with the best classes of society. And the principles which he advocated in his "Letter, commercial and political, addressed to the Right Hon. William Pitt," under the assumed name of Jasper Wilson, raised him a host of enemies, by whom he was attacked in the most violent and scurrilous manner.

While on an excursion to Dumfriesshire, on account of his health, Dr Currie made the acquaintance of Robert Burns the Scottish poet; and, like all who had the good fortune to meet that extraordinary man, he became one of his enthusiastic admirers. On the death of Burns, when the friends of the poet were exerting themselves to raise his family from the state of abject poverty in which it had been left, they strongly urged Dr Currie to become his editor and biographer, to which he at length consented; and, in the year 1800, he published for the behoof of the poet's family, "The Works of Robert Burns, with an account of his life, and criticisms on his writings; to which are prefixed, some observations on the character and condition of the Scottish peasantry." It is by this work that Dr Currie has established his fame in the republic of letters. He has, at the same time, by the manner in which he has accomplished his task, conferred a lasting favour on all who can appreciate the language and beauties of our national poet.

Although Dr Currie had been restored to comparative good health after his first attack of illness in 1784, still from that period he continued to be subject to pulmonary threatenings; but it was not until the year 1804, that his constitution gave way, so as to force him to retire from his professional duties in Liverpool. In the hope that his native air might again restore him to health, he made a journey to Scotland; but deriving no benefit from the change, he returned to England, and spent the ensuing winter alternately at Clifton and Bath. For a time his health seemed to recruit, and he was even enabled to resume his professional avocations in the latter city; but on his complaints returning with increased violence, he, with that restlessness incident to consumption,

removed to Sidmouth, where he died, 31st August, 1805, in the 50th year of his age.

Dr Currie was of a kind and affectionate disposition; and he was active and judicious in his benevolence. To his strenuous exertions Liverpool owes many of the charitable and literary institutions of which it can now boast.

## D.

DALGARNO, GEORGE,<sup>1</sup> an almost forgotten, but most meritorious and original writer, was born in Old Aberdeen, about the year 1626. He appears to have studied at Marischal college, New Aberdeen, but for what length of time, or with what objects, is wholly unknown. In 1657 he went to Oxford, where, according to Anthony Wood, he taught a private grammar school with good success for about thirty years. He died of a fever on the 28th of August, 1687, and was buried, says the same author, "in the north body of the church of St Mary Magdalen." Such is the scanty biography that has been preserved, of a man who lived in friendship with the most eminent philosophers of his day, and who, besides other original speculations, had the singular merit of anticipating, more than a hundred and thirty years ago, some of the most profound conclusions of the present age respecting the education of the deaf and dumb. His work upon this subject is entitled, "*Didascalocophus, or the Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor*," and was printed in a very small volume at Oxford, in 1680. He states the design of it to be, to bring the way of teaching a deaf man to read and write, as near as possible to that of teaching young ones to speak and understand their mother tongue. "In prosecution of this general idea," says an eminent philosopher of the present day, who has, on more than one occasion, done his endeavour to rescue the name of Dalgarno from oblivion, "he has treated in one short chapter, of a *deaf man's dictionary*; and, in another, of a *grammar for deaf persons*; both of them containing a variety of precious hints, from which useful practical lights might be derived by all who have any concern in the tuition of children, during the first stage of their education." (*Mr Dugald Stewart's Account of a boy born blind and deaf*). Twenty years before the publication of his *Didascalocophus*, Dalgarno had given to the world a very ingenious piece, entitled, *Ars Signorum*, from which, says Mr Stewart, it appears indisputable that he was the precursor of Bishop Wilkins in his speculations respecting "a real character and a philosophical language." Leibnitz has on various occasions, alluded to the *Ars Signorum* in commendatory terms. Both of these works of Dalgarno are now exceedingly rare.

DALRYMPLE, ALEXANDER, F.R.S., F.S.A., an eminent hydrographer, the son of Sir James Dalrymple, of Hailes, baronet, was born at New Hailes, (near Edinburgh,) the family seat, on the 24th July, 1737. His mother was lady Christian Hamilton, daughter of the earl of Haddington, and he was the seventh son of a family of sixteen children, all of whom he survived. He received the primary branches of his education at the school of Mr David Young, in Haddington; but having been taken from under the charge of his preceptor on the death of his father, before he had reached the age of fourteen, his progress could not have been very great. His eldest brother, however, continued to give him

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for this article to the Supplement to the sixth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica; the only source from which I am aware that the information contained in it could have been derived.

instruction in classical learning during the two succeeding years that he remained at home. In 1752, through the interest of the Hon. General St Clair, who was married to his father's sister, he obtained an appointment as writer in the East India Company's service; and his brother, Sir David, afterwards the well known explorer of the early annals of his country, and the subject of an ensuing article, proceeded with him to London, and placed him under the charge of Mr Kinross, at whose academy, at Fort Hills, he received instruction in arithmetic and book-keeping, the only preparatory attainments at that time deemed necessary to qualify young men destined for the civil service of the company. Having, with some difficulty, passed his examinations on these branches of education, and having obviated the difficulty arising from his being some months under the age entitling him to accept the appointment, he embarked for India about the middle of December, 1752; and reached Madras on the 11th of May following. Owing to the deficiency of his education, he was placed, on his arrival in India, under the storekeeper, but afterwards, through the fatherly kindness of the governor, lord Pigot, and of Mr Orme, the historian, then one of the members of council, he was removed to the secretary's office. In order to render him fit for this situation, lord Pigot himself condescended to give him lessons in writing, while Mr Orme gave him some instructions in accounts. In the records of the secretary's office, Mr Dalrymple, unluckily for himself, discovered certain papers on the subject of the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago; and immediately became so much interested in the subject, that he forsook the beaten path of his official duty, which must have ended in his promotion to the secretaryship, and involved himself in speculations on the advantages which might accrue to the company from the opening up, and extension of our trade, into the eastern islands. On this favourite subject he displayed much talent and indefatigable perseverance; but the company had always discountenanced such schemes; and the consequence, to Mr Dalrymple, was, that by relinquishing his appointment, (which he did in the face of lord Pigot's earnest remonstrances,) in order that he might give his undivided exertions to the promotion of his project, he lost the certainty of acquiring a large fortune, and at the same time involved himself in disputes and misunderstandings with the company, which embittered his after life. So deeply impressed, however, was Mr Dalrymple with the importance of his scheme, that he made a voyage of observation among the eastern islands. At Sooloo, in the course of this expedition, he made a commercial treaty with the Sultan, which might have led to beneficial results, but the instability of all the petty governments of eastern Asia rendered it utterly abortive; for, upon his return, in 1762, with a vessel freighted with goods, to take advantage of the arrangement and to prepare a cargo for an east Indiaman, which was to follow, he found the political affairs of Sooloo completely altered, in consequence of the disastrous effects of the small-pox, which had swept off many of the principal inhabitants, and, among others, those official friends on whom the fulfilment of the treaty chiefly depended. He was therefore obliged entirely to renew the arrangement, and although he was in that way enabled to provide a cargo for the Indiaman, yet the vessel not having made its appearance, he was constrained to return to Madras, completely disappointed in his sanguine hopes of extending our commerce among those islands. He obtained a grant, however, of the island of Balambagan, which, under proper management, might have been rendered a valuable possession; but this, too, was ultimately lost to the country. In 1765 he returned to England, in the hope of impressing upon the authorities there, the importance of extending our trade in the eastern seas; but his representations proved unavailing. In order to show the public the benefit which would arise from adopting his views, he published a pamphlet on the subject. At one

time he was considered as a proper person to be employed in a South Sea expedition of discovery, which the Admiralty was about to send out; but owing to some official etiquette the appointment did not take place. In 1769, he received a grant of £5,000, as an equivalent for his having relinquished the situation of secretary, when he proceeded on his voyage of observation, in 1759; but was disappointed of being sent out as governor or chief of the island of Balambagan, another being appointed in his stead, through whose mismanagement the settlement was lost to the company.

From the time of Mr Dalrymple's return home, he had devoted himself to the task of collecting and arranging materials for a full exposition of the importance of the eastern islands, and to show how valuable their commerce might be rendered to this country; and the court of directors were so convinced of the value of the information which he possessed, that he published several charts of the eastern seas under their authority. Mr Dalrymple had taken every occasion to keep up his claim on the Madras establishment; and on the appointment of his friend, lord Pigot, to be governor of Fort St George, in 1775, he made application to be reinstated in the service, which was granted; and he went out to Madras as a member of council, and as one of the committee of Circuit. Although there seems to have been no ground of complaint against him, he again returned home in 1777, in obedience to an order of the general court, to have his conduct inquired into. In the year 1779, he was appointed to the office of hydrographer to the East India Company; it was not, however, until the year following, that the court of directors resolved, that as there appeared to be no charges against him, he should be again employed in their service; but he never received any appointment, although he obtained a pension from the company.

In the year 1795, when the Admiralty resolved on establishing the office of hydrographer, they conferred it on Mr Dalrymple. In the year 1808, however, they insisted on his resigning his appointment on a retired allowance, and on his obstinately resisting their wishes, they superannuated him; which proceeding affected him so deeply, that it is believed to have caused his death. He died at his house in Mary-le-bone on the 9th June, 1808, in the 71st year of his age, and was buried in the small cemetery adjoining the church. He left a most valuable library, particularly rich in works on navigation and geography, all of which were purchased by the Admiralty. His collection of poetry was also very valuable, and that he directed to be deposited in the library at New Hailes as an heir-loom of the family. His other books were sold, and produced a considerable sum. His own works, as will be observed by the subjoined list,<sup>1</sup> were very numerous.

<sup>1</sup> Account of discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean before 1764; 1767, 8vo. Memorial to the proprietors of East India stock, 1768, 8vo. An account of what has passed between the East India directors and Alexander Dalrymple, 1768, 8vo. An account of what has passed, &c. 8vo. Plan for extending the commerce of this kingdom, and of the East India Company, by an establishment at Balambagan, 1771. Letter concerning the proposed supervisors, 20th June, 1769, 8vo. Letter concerning the proposed supervisors, 30th June, 1769, 4to. Second letter, 10 July, 1769, 4to. Vox Populi vox Dei, lord Weymouth's appeal to the general court of Indian proprietors, considered, 14th August, 1769, 4to. Historical collection of South Sea voyages, 1770, 2 vols. 4to; 1771, 4to. Proposition of a benevolent voyage to introduce Corn, &c. into New Zealand, &c. 1771, 4to. Considerations on a pamphlet (by general Johnston), intitled, Thoughts on our acquisitions in the East Indies, particularly respecting Bengal, 1772, 8vo. General view of the East India Company's affairs (written in January, 1769), to which are added, some observations on the present state of the Company's affairs, 1772, 8vo. A paper concerning the general government of India, 8vo. Rights of the East India Company; N.B. printed at the East India Company's expense, 1773, 8vo. Letter to Dr Hawkesworth, 1773, 4to. Observations on Dr Hawkesworth's Preface to 2d edition, 1773, 4to. Memorial of Dr Juan Lewis Arias (in Spanish), 1773, 4to. Proposition for printing by subscription the MS. Voyages and Travels in the British Museum, 1773, 4to. A full

DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID, a celebrated Scottish judge and antiquary, was born at Edinburgh, on the 28th of October, 1726. His father was Sir James Dalrymple, of Hailes, bart., and his mother lady Christian Hamilton, a daughter of the earl of Haddington. His grandfather, who was lord advocate for Scotland during the reign of George I., was the youngest son of the first lord Stair, and distinguished for ability even among the members of his own able family; and his father, Sir James, had the auditorship of the exchequer bestowed upon him for life. Sir David Dalrymple was sent to be educated at Eton, where he was eminently distinguished for ability and general good conduct. At this seminary he acquired, with a competent share of classical learning, a fine classical taste and a partiality for English manners and customs, which marked through life both his public and private conduct. From Eton he returned to Edinburgh, where he went through the usual course at the university; and afterwards went to Utrecht, where he prosecuted the study of the civil law, till the suppression of the rebellion in the year 1746, when he returned to his native country. From the sobriety of his character, with his ardour and diligence in prosecuting whatever subject arrested his attention, the highest hopes of his future eminence were now entertained by his friends. Nor were these hopes disappointed; although circumstances led him into studies not altogether such as he would have pursued, had he been left to the bent of his own genius. The study of antiqui-

and clear proof that the Spaniards have no right to Balambagan, 1674, 8vo. An historical relation of the several expeditions from Fort Marlbro to the islands off the west coast of Sumatra, 1775, 4to. Collection of voyages, chiefly in the South Atlantic ocean, from the original MS. by Dr Halley, M. Rouvill, &c. with a preface concerning a voyage of discovery proposed to be undertaken by Alexander Dalrymple at his own expense; letters to lord North on the subject and the plan of a republican colony, 1775, 4to. Copies of papers relative to the restoration of the king of Tanjore, the imprisonment of lord Pigot, &c. printed by the East India Company for the use of the proprietors, 1777, 4to. Several pieces on the same subject, 1777, 4to. Notes on lord Pigot's Narrative. Letter to the proprietors of the East India stock, 8th May, 1777. Account of the transactions concerning the revolt at Madras, 30th May, 1777, Appendix. Letter to the court of directors, 19th June, 1777, Memorial 19th June, 1777. Account of the subversion of the legal government of Fort St George, in answer to Mr Andrew Stuart's letter to the court of directors, 1778, 4to. Journal of the Grenville. Philosophical Transaction, 1778. Considerations on the present state of affairs between England and America, 1778, 8vo. Considerations on the East India Bill, 1769, 8vo, 1778. State of the East India Company and sketch of an equitable agreement, 1780, 8vo. Account of the loss of the Grosvenor, 1783, 8vo. Reflections on the present state of the East India Company, 1783, 8vo. A short account of the Gentoo mode of collecting the revenue on the coast of Coromandel, 1783, 8vo. A retrospective view of the ancient system of the East India Company, with a plan of regulation, 1784, 8vo. Postscript to Mr D's account of the Gentoo, &c. being observations made on a perusal of it by Moodoo Krotina, 1785, 8vo. Extracts from Juvenilla, or poems by George Wither, 1785, 24mo. Fair state of the case between the East India Company and the owners of the ships now in their service; to which are added, considerations on Mr Brough's pamphlet concerning the East India shipping, 1786, 8vo. A serious admonition to the public on the intended thief colony at Botany Bay. Review of the contest concerning the four new regiments graciously offered by his majesty to be sent to India, &c., 1788, 8vo. A plan for promoting the fur-trade, and securing it to this country, by uniting the operations of the East India and Hudson Bay Companies, 1789, 4to. Memoir of a map of the lands around the North Pole, 1789, 4to. An historical journal of the expedition by sea and land to the north of California, in 1768, 69, 70, when the Spanish establishments were first made at San Diego Monterey, and translated from the Spanish MS. by William Revelly, Esq., to which is added, translations of Cabrera Bueno's description of the coast of California, and an extract from the MS. journal of M. Sauvagne le Muet, 1714; 1790, 4to. A letter to a friend on the test act, 1790, 8vo. The Spanish pretensions fairly discussed, 1790, 8vo. The Spanish memorial of 4th June considered, 1790, 8vo. Plan for the publication of a Repertory of Oriental information, 1790, 4to. Memorial of Alexander Dalrymple, 1791, 8vo. Parliamentary reform, as it is called, improper in the present state of this country, 1793, 8vo. Mr Fox's letter to his worthy and independent electors of Westminster, fully considered, 1793, 8vo. Observations on the copper coinage wanted for the Circars; printed for the use of the East India Company, 1794, 8vo. The poor man's friend, 1795, 8vo. A collection of English songs, with an appendix of original pieces, 1796, 8vo. A fragment on the India trade, written in 1791; 1797, 8vo. Thoughts of an old man of independent mind, though dependent fortune, 1800, 8vo. Oriental Repertory, vol. 1st, 4to, April, 1791, to January, 1793. Oriental Repertory, vol. 2d not complete.

ties and the belles lettres was the most congenial to his own mind, and in both he was eminently fitted to excel; but from the state of his affairs on the death of his father, who left a large family and an estate deeply encumbered, he found it necessary to adopt the law as a profession, that he might be able to meet the demands which lay against the family inheritance, and make suitable provision for those dependent on him. He accordingly made his appearance as an advocate, or, as it is technically expressed, was called to the Scottish bar, in the year 1748. Here, however, though he had considerable practice, his success was not equal to the sanguine expectations of his friends. In the science of law few men were more expert than Sir David Dalrymple, and in point of industry, he was surpassed by no one of his contemporaries; but he had certain peculiarities, probably inherent in his nature, strengthened by study, and confirmed by habit, that impeded his progress, and rendered his efforts less effective than those of men who were far his inferiors in natural and acquired abilities. From natural modesty and good taste, he had a sovereign contempt for verbal antitheses, rounded periods, and every thing that had the semblance of declamation, for excelling in which he was totally unqualified—his voice being ill-toned, and his manner ungraceful. In consequence of these defects, his pleadings, which were always addressed to the judgment, never to the passions, often fell short of those of his opponents, who, possessing less enlarged views of their subject, but having higher rhetorical powers, and being less fastidious in the choice of words, captivated their auditors by the breadth of their irony and the sweeping rotundity of their periods. Nor did his memorials, though classically written, and replete with valuable matter, at all times meet with the approbation of the court, which was disposed at times to find fault with their brevity and sometimes with the extreme attention they manifested to the minutiae of forms, in which it was alleged he concealed the merits of the case. On points, however, which interested his feelings, or which involved the interests of truth and virtue, he lost sight of the intricacies of form; his language became glowing, and his arguments unanswerable. No advocate of his own standing was at the time more truly respectable; and he was often employed as advocate-depute, which gave him frequent opportunities of manifesting that candour of heart and tenderness of disposition, which were at all times striking features of his character, and which so well become the prosecutor in a criminal court. Going the western circuit on one occasion, in this capacity, he came to the town of Stirling, where, the first day of the court, he was in no haste to bring on the business; and being met by a brother of the bar, was accosted with the question, Why there was no trial this forenoon. "There are," said Sir David, "some unhappy culprits to be tried for their lives, and therefore it is proper they have time to confer for a little with their men of law." "That is of very little consequence," said the other. "Last year I came to visit lord Kaimes, when he was here on the circuit, and he appointed me counsel for a man accused of a rape. Though I had very little time to prepare, yet I made a decent speech." "Pray, Sir," said Sir David, "was your client acquitted or condemned?" "O," replied the other, "most unjustly condemned." "That, Sir," said the depute-advocate, "is no good argument for hurrying on trials."

Having practised at the bar with increasing reputation for eighteen years, Sir David Dalrymple was, with the warmest approbation of the public, appointed one of the judges of the court of session, in the year 1766. He took his seat on the bench with the usual formalities, by the title of lord Hailes, the designation by which he is generally known among the learned throughout Europe. This was a situation, which it was admitted on all hands, that Sir David Dalrymple was admirably calculated to fill. His unwearied assiduity in sifting dark



and intricate matters to the bottom was well known, and his manner of expression, elegant and concise, was admirably suited to the chair of authority. That his legal opinions had always been found to be sound, was also generally believed; yet it has been candidly admitted, that he was, as a judge, neither so useful nor so highly venerated as the extent of his knowledge and his unquestioned integrity led his friends to expect. The same minute attention to forms, which had in some degree impeded his progress at the bar, accompanied him to the bench, and excited sometimes the merriment of lighter minds. It is to be noticed, however, that too little regard has been, on some occasions, in the very venerable court of session, paid to forms; and that forms, apparently trifling, have seldom, in legal proceedings, been disregarded, without in some degree affecting the interests of truth and justice. It has also been remarked, that such was the opinion which the other judges entertained of the accuracy, diligence, and dignified character of lord Hailes, that, in the absence of the lord president, he was almost always placed in the chair. After having acted as a lord of session for ten years, lord Hailes was, in the year 1776, nominated one of the lords of judicature, in which capacity he commanded the respect of all men. Fully impressed with a sense of the importance of his office in the criminal court, all his singularities seemed to forsake him. Before the time of Hailes, it had been too much the case in the Scottish criminal courts, for the judge to throw all the weight of his influence into the scale of the crown. Lord Hailes, imitating the judges of England, threw his into the scale of the prisoner, especially when the king's counsel seemed to be overpowering, or when there was any particular intricacy in the case. It is to be regretted, that, in almost all of our courts of justice, oaths are administered in a manner highly indecorous, tending rather to derogate from the importance of that most solemn act. In this respect, lord Hailes was the very model of perfection. Rising slowly from his seat, with a gravity peculiarly his own, he pronounced the words in a manner so serious as to impress the most profligate mind with the conviction that he was himself awed with the immediate presence of that awful Majesty, to whom the appeal was made. When the witness was young, or appeared to be ignorant, his lordship was careful, before putting the oath, to point out its nature and obligations in a manner the most perspicuous and affecting. It is perhaps impossible for human vigilance or sagacity, altogether to prevent perjury in courts of justice; but he was a villain of no common order, that could perjure himself in the presence of lord Hailes. In all doubtful cases it was his lordship's invariable practice, to lean to the side of mercy; and when it became his painful duty to pass sentence of death upon convicted criminals, he did so in a strain so pious and so pathetic, as often to overwhelm in a flood of tears the promiscuous multitudes that are wont to be assembled on such occasions. In the discharge of this painful part of his duty, lord Hailes may have been equalled, but he was certainly, in this country at least, never surpassed.

While lord Hailes was thus diligent in the discharge of the public duties of his high place, he was, in those hours which most men find it necessary to devote to rest and recreation, producing works upon all manner of subjects, exceeding in number, and surpassing in value, those of many men whose lives have been wholly devoted to literature. Of these, as they are in few hands, though some of them at least are exceedingly curious and highly interesting, we shall present the reader with such notices as our limits will permit, in the order in which they were published. His first work seems to have been *Sacred Poems, a Collection of Translations and Paraphrases from the Holy Scriptures*, by various authors, Edinburgh, 1751, 12mo, dedicated to Charles, lord Hope, with a preface of ten pages. The next was, *The Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus, the son*

of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, from the Apocrypha, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1755, without preface or commentary. In the year following, 1756, he published, in 12mo, *Select Discourses*, by John Smith, late fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, with a preface, many quotations from the learned languages translated, and notes added, containing allusions to ancient mythology, and to the erroneous philosophy which prevailed in the days of the author, &c. &c. Next year, 1757, he republished, with notes, *A Discourse of the unnatural and vile conspiracy attempted by John, earl of Gowrie, and his brother, against his majesty's sacred person at St Johnstoun, 5th of August, 1600, 12mo.* Two vessels, the *Betsy Cunningham*, and the *Leith packet, Pitcairn*, from London to Leith, being wrecked on the shore between Dunbar and North Berwick, in the month of October, 1761, and pillaged by the country people, as was too often done on all the coasts of Britain, and is sometimes done to this day, Sir David published *A Sermon*, which might have been preached in East Lothian, on the 25th day of October, 1761; Acts xxvii, 1, 2, "The barbarous people showed us no little kindness." This is an admirable discourse, deeply affecting, and calculated in a particular manner to carry conviction to the offenders. In 1762, he published from the press of the Foulises, Glasgow, *Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the reign of James I. of England*, from a collection in the *Advocates' Library*, by Balfour of Denmyln, with a preface and a few notes. This is an exceedingly curious little volume, throwing much light on the character of the British Solomon and his sapient courtiers. In 1765 he published, from the same press, the works of the ever memorable Mr John Hailes of Eaton, now first collected together, in three volumes, with a short preface, and a dedication to bishop Warburton, the edition said to be undertaken with his approbation. The same year, he published a specimen of a book, entitled, *Ane compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Sangs*, collectit out of sundrie parts of Scripture, with sundrie of other ballotis changed out of prophane sangs for avoyding of sin and harlotrie, &c. This was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, and was the first introduction of that singular performance to the notice of modern readers. In 1766, he published at Glasgow, *Memorials and Letters relating to the history of Britain, in the reign of Charles I.*, published from the originals, collected by Mr Robert Wodrow, the historian of the sufferings of the church of Scotland. This is a very curious performance; and it was followed, the same year, by one, perhaps, still more so, an account of the preservation of king Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself; to which are added, his letters to several persons. The same year, he published the secret correspondence between Sir Robert Cecil and James VI.; and the year following, *A Catalogue of the Lords of Session*, from the institution of the college of justice, in the year 1532, with historical notes. The private correspondence of Dr Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and his friends, in 1725, was published by lord Hailes, in 1768-69. An examination of some of the arguments for the high antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*, and an inquiry into the authenticity of the *Leges Malcolmi*.—Also, *Historical Memoirs*, concerning the provincial councils of the Scottish clergy, from the earliest accounts to the era of the Reformation. At the same time he published, *Canons of the Church of Scotland*, drawn up in the provincial councils, held at Perth, A. D. 1249 and 1269. In 1770, he published, *Ancient Scottish Poems*, published from MS. of George Bannatyne, 1568, with a number of curious notes, and a glossary. His lordship's next performance was, *The Additional case of Elizabeth*, claiming the title and dignity of countess of Sutherland by her guardian; wherein the facts and arguments in support of her claim are more fully stated, and the errors in the additional cases for the other claimants are detected.

This most singularly learned and able case was subscribed by Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards lord chancellor of England, and Sir Adam Ferguson, but is the well-known work of lord Hailes. This performance is not to be regarded merely as a law paper of great ability, but as a treatise of profound research into the history and antiquity of many important and general points of succession and family history. In 1773, he published, *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, inscribed to George, lord Lyttleton. In 1776, he published, *Huberti Langueti Epistolæ ad Philippum Sydneium, Equitem Anglum, &c.*, inscribed to lord chief baron Smythe. The same year were published, his *Annals of Scotland*, from the accession of Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, to the accession of Robert I. This was followed, three years after, by *Annals of Scotland*, from the accession of Robert I., surnamed the Bruce, to the accession of the house of Stuart. This is a most admirable work, but as it enjoys universal celebrity, and is in the hands of every one who is studious of Scottish history, we do not think it necessary to give any particular remarks upon it. In 1776, he published the first volume of the *Remains of Christian Antiquity*, a work of great erudition, containing accounts of the martyrs of Smyrna and Lyons in the second century, with explanatory notes; dedicated to bishop Hurd. This is a new and correct version of two most ancient epistles, the one from the church at Smyrna to the church at Philadelphia; the other from the Christians at Vienne and Lyons, to those in Asia and Phrygia; their antiquity and authenticity are undoubted. Great part of both is extracted from Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. The former was first completely edited by archbishop Usher. Lord Hailes, with that singular modesty which characterized him, says of his notes to this work, that they will afford little new or interesting to men of erudition, though they may prove of some benefit to the unlearned reader. The erudition lord Hailes possessed on these subjects was of a kind so singular, and is so little studied, that he might have spared any apology on the subject, the learned being, in fact, for the most part, on these subjects more ignorant than the unlearned. With much useful learning, however, these notes display what is still better, true piety and ardent zeal connected with an exemplary knowledge of Christianity. In 1778, his lordship published the second volume of this work, dedicated to Dr Newton, bishop of Bristol. This volume contains the trial of Justin Martyr and his companions; the epistle of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch; the trial and execution of Fructuosus, bishop of Torrocona in Spain, and of his two demons Augurius and Eulogius; the maiden of Antioch, &c. These are all newly translated by lord Hailes from Ruinart, Eusebius, Ambrose, &c. The notes of this volume display a most intimate acquaintance with antiquity, great critical acumen, both in elucidating the sense and detecting interpolations, and, above all, a fervent and enlightened zeal in vindicating such sentiments and conduct as are conformable to the word of God, against the malicious sarcasms of Mr Gibbon. The third volume appeared in 1780, dedicated to Thomas Balgray, D.D. It contains the history of the martyrs of Palestine in the third century, translated from Eusebius. In the notes and illustrations to this volume, Gibbon comes again under review, and his partiality and misrepresentations are most satisfactorily exposed. In 1781, he published *Octavius*, a dialogue by Marcus Minucius Felix, with notes and illustrations. The speakers are Cecilius a heathen, and Octavius a Christian, whose arguments prevail with his friend to become a Christian proselyte. In 1782, he published a *Treatise*, by L. C. F. Lactantius, of the manner in which the persecutors died. This was dedicated to Dr Porteous, bishop of Chester, afterwards bishop of London, and largely illustrated by critical notes. In 1783, he published, *Disquisitions concerning the Antiquity of the Christian church*, inscribed to Dr Halifax,

bishop of Gloucester. This small, but highly original work, consists of six chapters; 1st, of the conduct and character of Gallio; 2d, of the time at which the Christian religion became known at Rome; 3d, of the cause of the persecution of the Christians under Nero, in which the hypothesis of Gibbon is examined; 4th, of the eminent heathens who are said, by Gibbon, to have contemned Christianity, viz. Seneca, the Plinys, elder and younger, Tacitus, Galen, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Marcus Antoninus. This chapter is particularly interesting to the admirer of heathen philosophers and heathen philosophy; 5th, is an illustration of a conjecture of Gibbon respecting the silence of Dion Cassius concerning the Christians; and the 6th, treats of the circumstances respecting Christianity, that are to be found in the Augustan history. There can scarcely be a doubt, that all these works treating of the early ages of Christianity, were suggested by the misrepresentations of Gibbon, and were they circulated as widely as Gibbon's work, would be found a complete antidote. His lordship, however, was not satisfied with this indirect mode of defence, and, in 1786, published *An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr Gibbon has assigned for the rapid growth of Christianity*; in which he has most triumphantly set aside his conclusions. This performance he gratefully and affectionately inscribed to Richard Hurd, bishop of Worcester. The same year, his lordship published sketches of the lives of John Barclay; of John Hamilton, a secular priest; of Sir James Ramsay, a general officer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden; of George Leslie, a capuchin friar; and of Mark Alexander Boyd. These lives were written and published as a specimen of the manner in which a *biographica Scotica* might be executed, and we do not know that he proceeded any further with the design. In 1788, he published, from her original MSS. the opinions of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough; with notes, corrective of her ladyship's splenetic humour; and, in 1790, he translated and published, with notes and illustrations, *The Address of Q. Sept. Tertullian to Scapula Tertullus, proconsul of Africa*. This address contains many particulars relating to the church after the third century, and in the notes some strange inaccuracies of Mr Gibbon are detected.

This was the last work which lord Hailes lived to publish. His constitution had been long in an enfeebled state, which so much diligence in study must have tended to increase. He continued, however, to prosecute his studies and to attend his duty on the bench, till within three days of his death, which happened on the 29th of November, 1792, in the 66th year of his age. His lordship was twice married. By his first wife, Anne Brown, only daughter of lord Coalston, one of the judges of the court of session, he left issue one daughter, who inherited his estate. By his second wife, Helen Ferguson, youngest daughter of lord Kilkerran, he left also issue, one daughter. Having no male issue, his baronetcy descended to his nephew. Of the character of lord Hailes, there can be but one opinion. As an able lawyer and an upright judge, he stands eminently conspicuous in an age and a country where such characters were not rare, and when the exercise of such qualities, from their superabundance, scarcely could merit praise. As a man of general erudition, he stands, if we except Warburton, almost without a rival in the age he lived in. His skill in classical learning, the belles lettres, and historical antiquities, especially those of his own country, have been universally admitted, and had popularity been his intention, as it was of too many of his contemporaries, there cannot be a doubt but that he could have made himself the most shining meteor among them. Instead, however, of fixing upon subjects that might interest the frivolous, or draw upon him the smiles of the fashionable and the gay, he sedulously devoted his studies to such subjects as he thought particularly called for by the circumstances

of the times, and with which all would be benefited by becoming acquainted. A shallow spirit of scepticism was abroad, which, aided by ignorance and misrepresentation, was threatening to become universal, and to change the sober and meditative character of Britons, into frothy petulance and flippant vanity. This he attempted to meet by sober investigations into the truth of the facts that had been so confidently assumed respecting the early history of Christianity, by which he certainly left his opponents without the shadow of an excuse for persisting in their conclusions, having proved to a demonstration that their premises were false. Whether he might not have done this in a more popular form, we cannot now stay to inquire into. We certainly think the mode he adopted that which was best calculated to cut off the cavilling of adversaries, and to carry conviction to the mind of the reader; and to those who wish to treat the subject in a more popular form, his lordship has furnished abundant materials. His various republications of the ancient poetry of Scotland, and the publication of original letters regarding her history and manners, while they throw much light upon the history of the country and the domestic economy of the times to which they relate, present his lordship in a most amiable point of view; and, while we admire the scholar and the philosopher, we cannot cease to venerate and to love the man. Of his *Annals* we have already spoken. Though necessarily written in a close and severe style, they have long ago risen to a pitch of popularity far beyond many works that took a more immediate hold of the public mind; and we have no doubt that ages will only add to their value. Indeed, he has left nothing to be done for the periods that came under his review. His inquiry into the secondary causes which Gibbon has assigned for the rapid progress of Christianity, is also a masterpiece of its kind, displaying great critical acumen, close reasoning, and great zeal for truth, without the smallest particle of that rancour which too often runs through the theological controversy. With all his virtues and all his acquirements, joined to the finest natural abilities, lord Hailes was not one of those who could boast of the immense sums he received for the copyright of his works. He was most commonly his own publisher; and, as is generally the case in such circumstances, the circulation of his writings was, with a few exceptions, confined to the particular friends and acquaintances whom he had drawn around him. The consequence is, that there are many of them no longer to be met with, being wholly confined to the cabinets of the curious. It would be a meritorious work, in these days of literary enterprise, and we cannot doubt that an intelligent and spirited publisher might find it a profitable speculation, to publish a neat, cheap, and uniform edition of his multifarious publications. Lord Hailes possessed a natural taste for retirement. The state of his affairs, at a most important period of his life, rendered it necessary for him, and the habit grew upon him as he advanced in years. His constitution, of which he was careful, as well as his principles and habits, rendered him averse to every kind of dissipation. After he was constituted a judge, he considered it unbecoming his character to mingle much with the fashionable and the gay world. When he chose to unbend his mind, therefore, it was in the society of a few easy friends whom he had selected, as much on account of their moral and religious worth, as for their genius or learning. With that constellation of men of genius and science which illuminated Edinburgh at that period, lord Hailes had much agreeable and profitable conversation, but it was impossible for friendship or close intimacy to subsist between men who thought so differently, as he and the most of them did, upon the most important of all subjects. Though a whig, and strongly attached to the best principles of the revolution, he took no part in the broils, civil or ecclesiastical, which agitated the country in the first period of the reign of George III. Some of these he regarded as frivolous, and others

as mischievous, and, from conscience, could not allow himself to take any part in them. Conscious at all times of the dignity and importance of the high office which he held, he never departed from the decorum becoming that reverend character. This decorum it cost him no effort to support, because he acted from principle improved into a daily sentiment of the heart. Affectionate to his family and relations, simple and mild in his manners, pure in his morals, enlightened and entertaining in his conversation, he left society only to regret, that devoted as he was to more important employments, he had so little time to spare for intercourse with them.

DALRYMPLE, JAMES, viscount Stair, an eminent lawyer and statesman, and the progenitor of many distinguished persons, was born at Drummurichie, in the parish of Barr, Ayrshire, in the month of May, 1619. His father, who bore the same name, was proprietor of the small estate of Stair, in that county, which, on his death, in 1624, fell to his son. James Dalrymple received his education at the parish school of Mauchline, and the university of Glasgow, and at an early age entered the army raised in Scotland to repel the religious innovations of Charles I. In 1641, when he had attained a captaincy in the earl of Glencairn's regiment, he became a competitor for the chair of philosophy at Glasgow, and gained it against several rivals. Former writers have made a wonder of his appearing at this competition in his military dress of buff and scarlet, and also at his retaining his commission as captain for some time after assuming the philosophy chair. The truth is, he, and his brethren in arms, could hardly be considered as soldiers, but rather as civilians taking up arms for a temporary purpose; and, by the same enthusiasm, even clergymen appeared occasionally with sword and pistol. Dalrymple held this chair for six years, during which he employed much of his time in the study of civil law, which was not then taught publicly in Scotland. His mind being thus turned to the law as a profession, he resigned his chair in 1647, and in the ensuing year became an advocate at the Scottish bar. His abilities soon procured him both legal and political distinction. In 1649, he was appointed secretary to the commissioners who were sent by the Scottish parliament to treat with Charles II., then an exile in Holland, for his return to his native dominions. He held the same office in the more successful mission of 1650, and we are told that, on this occasion, he recommended himself to the king by his "abilities, sincerity, and moderation."<sup>1</sup> After a short residence in Holland, during which he saw a number of the learned men of that country, he returned to Scotland, and was one of two persons sent by the parliament to attend the king at his landing. In the Cromwellian modification of the court of session, he was, in 1657, appointed one of the "Commissioners for administration of justice," chiefly upon the recommendation of general Monk, who thus characterized him in a letter to the protector—"a very honest man, a good lawier, and one of a considerable estate." It was not, however, without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept office under the government of Cromwell. He took the earliest opportunity, after the restoration, of paying his respects to the king, who knighted him, and nominated him one of the new judges. From this office, however, he retired in 1663, in order to avoid taking "the declaration," an oath abjuring the right to take up arms against the king. Next year, on the personal solicitation of the king, he resumed his duties, with only a general declaration of his aversion to any measures hostile to his majesty's just rights and prerogatives, the king granting him a sanction in writing for this evasion of the law. On this occasion, Charles conferred upon him the title of a baronet. In 1671, he succeeded Gilmour of Craigmiller as lord president, and immediately availed himself of the situation

<sup>1</sup> Forbes' Journal of the Session.

to effect some important improvements in the system of judicature. He also, at this time, employed his leisure hours in recording the decisions of the court. As a member of the privy council, he was invariably the advocate, though not always successfully, of moderate measures, and he remonstrated as warmly as he durst against all who were of an opposite character. When the celebrated test oath was under consideration, in 1681, Dalrymple, for the purpose of confounding it altogether, suggested that John Knox's confession of faith should be sworn to as part of it. As this inculcated resistance to tyranny as a duty, he thought it would counterbalance the abjuration of that maxim contained in another part of the oath. The discrepancy passed unobserved, for not a bishop in parliament was so far acquainted with ecclesiastical history as to know the contents of that confession. However, inconsistent as it was, it was forced by the government down the throats of all persons in office, and thus became the occasion of much mischief. Lord Stair himself refused to take it, and accordingly had to retire from his offices. Before this period, he had prepared his celebrated work, "the Institutions of the Law of Scotland," which was now published. This work still continues to be the grand text-book of the Scottish lawyer. "It is not without cause," says Mr Brodie, in a late edition, "that the profound and luminous disquisitions of lord Stair have commanded the general admiration of Scottish lawyers. Having brought to the study of jurisprudence a powerful and highly cultivated intellect, he was qualified to trace every rule to principle. Yet such was his sterling practical good sense, that he rarely allowed himself to be carried away by theory, too frequently the failing of philosophic minds, less endowed with this cardinal virtue. His philosophy and learning have enabled him to enrich jurisprudence with a work, which, in embodying the rules of law, clearly develops the ground on which they are founded."

Lord Stair lived for about a year at his country seat in Wigtonshire, but experiencing much persecution from the government, found it necessary, in October, 1682, to take refuge in Holland. In his absence he was accused of high treason, on the grounds, that some of his tenants had been concerned in the insurrection at Bothwell bridge. An attempt, however, which was made to obtain a surrender of his person from Holland, proved abortive. From his retirement at Leyden, he sent forth his "Decisions," through the medium of the press at Edinburgh, the first volume appearing in 1684, and the second in 1687. In 1686, he published, at Leyden, a Latin treatise of much originality, under the title of "*Physiologia Nova Experimentalis*." He also busied himself at this time in a work respecting the mutual obligations of the sovereign and his people, on which subject he entertained more liberal opinions than what were generally received in that age. This work, however, was never published. When the prince of Orange was about to sail for Britain, lord Stair requested to know what was the object of his expedition. The prince replied, that it was not personal aggrandizement, but "the glory of God, and the security of the protestant religion, then in imminent danger." The reply of lord Stair was a strange mixture of the sublime and ludicrous. Taking off his wig, and exhibiting his bald head, he said, "Though I be now in the seventieth year of my age, I am willing to venture that, (pointing to his head,) my own and my children's fortune, in such an undertaking." He accordingly accompanied the prince, and was rewarded, after the settlement of affairs under William and Mary, with a re-appointment to the presidency of the court of session, and a peerage under the title of viscount Stair. Though thus restored to his country, and to more than his former honours, the latter years of this great man were not happy. He had never been the friend of the high church party, and therefore he could expect no favour from that class of malcontents under the revolution settlement.

But the presbyterian party, also, for which he had done and suffered so much, also treated him with little respect, considering him too deeply concerned in the late oppressive and cruel system to be worthy of their confidence. Under these circumstances he breathed his last, on the 25th of November, 1695, in the 77th year of his age, and was buried in the High church of Edinburgh.

Lord Stair had been married, in 1643, to Margaret Ross, co-heiress of the estate of Balneil, in Wigtonshire; by whom he had five sons, and four daughters. The eldest son, John, having held office under James II., was, like his father, held in suspicion by the presbyterian party; but nevertheless attained high office under the revolution government. He was secretary of state for Scotland, and elevated to the rank of earl of Stair, in 1703. On his death, in 1707, he was succeeded in his title by the celebrated commander and diplomatist, John, second earl of Stair. The junior branches of the family have produced fruit almost equally distinguished. Sir James Dalrymple, the second son, was himself the author of "Collections concerning Scottish History preceding the death of David I.," which appeared in 1705, and the grandfather of Sir John Dalrymple, of Cranston, author of that excellent work, "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles II., until the sea battle off La Hogue," in two volumes, 4to. The youngest son, Sir David, was the grandfather of lord Hailes, and Alexander Dalrymple, two persons already commemorated in this work. Through these channels, and by the alliances of his daughters, the blood of lord Stair now flows in most of the noble families in Scotland. The historical eminence of the family is only to be paralleled by the immense influence which it possessed for many years in this country, an influence hardly matched by that of the Dundasses in later times.<sup>1</sup>

DALRYMPLE, JOHN, second earl of Stair, was the second son of the first earl, and the grandson of the subject of the preceding memoir. He was born at Edinburgh, July 20, 1673, and, while yet a mere boy, had the misfortune to kill his elder brother by the accidental discharge of a pistol. Although a royal remission was procured for this offence, his parents found it necessary for their own comfort to banish him from their sight, as his presence awakened the most painful associations. He was therefore placed for some years under the charge of a clergyman in Ayrshire, a humane and sensible man, who soon perceived the excellent qualities of his pupil's character. Under the charge of this person, he became a proficient scholar, and in the course of time, through a series of favourable reports to his parents, he had the satisfaction of seeing the young exile restored to the bosom of his family, of which he was destined to be the principal ornament. The more advanced parts of his education, he received at Leyden, where he was reputed one of the best scholars in the university, and subsequently at the college of his native city. His first appearance in life was as a volunteer under the earl of Angus, commander of the Cameronian regiment, at the battle of Steinkirk, in August, 1692, being then nineteen years of age. For some years afterwards, he devoted himself at Leyden to the study of that profession in which two preceding generations of his family had already gained

<sup>1</sup> We preserve, for drollery's sake, the following easy rhymes which lord Auchinleck, father of James Boswell, used to repeat, as descriptive of the succession of predominating influences in Scotland during the last century:—

First cam the men o' mony wimples,  
In common language ca'd Da'rumples,  
And after them cam the Dundasses,  
Wha raide our lords and lairds like asses.

A quatrain, it must be confessed, more true than respectful, although, in both cases alike, the predominance was grounded on inherent family talent.



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